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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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USSR Official Denies Hungarian Maneuvers Report

LD0902115190 Budapest MTI in English 1040 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 9 (MTI)—Igor Dvurechensky, counsellor at the Soviet Embassy in Budapest, has given a statement to NEPSZABADSAG.

(As reported, the Thursday issue of NEPSZAVA carried a statement by Colonel Viktor Koreshkov that the Soviet Southern Army Group was going to carry out shooting exercises in the vicinity of Veszprem from February to May. Defence Minister Ferenc Karpati requested the commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group not to hold any kind of manoeuvere between February and mid-April, the period of elections and the following government-forming talks, that would involve moving troops from their garrisons.)

The counsellor said, "No kind of military manoeuvre by Soviet troops is planned for the time of the elections in Hungary."

Dvurechensky's opinion about the statement in NEPSZAVA: Colonel Koreshkov must not have said such a thing. His words might have been misunderstood. It would be ridiculous for a senior officer of the Southern Army Group to say just the opposite of the HQ statement issued a day before refuting the military manoeuvre. According to the Soviet statement published in Hungarian newspapers on Wednesday, no kind of military manoeure is being held in Hungary with the participation of Soviet troops, and there are no such plans for the months to come. The originally envisaged exercise—as Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth also said—has been postponed and become untimely. The Soviet soldiers only carry out the usual exercises at their garrisons. Any information to the contrary is incorrect, said the counsellor at the Soviet Embassy in Budapest.

11 Feb Prague Meeting To Review CEMA Changes

AU0302180990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Jan 90 p 7

[CTK report: "Accelerating Changes in CEMA"]

[Text] Warsaw—Vladimir Dlouhy, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, carried out a one-day working visit to Warsaw yesterday. The visit took place at the invitation of Jerzy Osiatynski, minister chairman of the Polish Central Planning Office. Our talks were not of the usual kind devoted to coordinating plans, although we did also touch upon these issues, said V. Dlouhy in an interview with CTK's Warsaw correspondent. We consulted each other on some issues associated with the further activity of the planning offices and with the status of planning as such in our countries, which are again converting to the market mechanism. However, we consider the role of talks oriented toward the situation in CEMA to be equally important, continued Vladimir Dlouhy. After agreeing with the Hungarian side, we have decided to accelerate work on a plan for fundamental changes to CEMA. With this aim, I am inviting representatives of the commission convened in Sofia to discuss these issues to Prague on 11 February, where the collective concept of changes to CEMA should be submitted.

Hungary's Medgyessy Views CEMA's Future

AU0802154690 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Jan 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Hungarian Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy by Maria Lakatos; date and place not given: "The Future of CEMA—Reform Is Already an Illusion"]

[Text] News and rumors about the disintegration of CEMA abound. A CSSR statement made prior to the CEMA summit in Sofia proved to be mistaken, and one week later, Hungarian Government officials denied the rumors of withdrawal from the so-called Prague agreement, which represents the basis of the financial system. However, there is no doubt that even the demand for radical reform has become obsolete. We asked Peter Medgyessy about future plans and the official Hungarian position.

[Lakatos] For years, Hungarian negotiations have been characterized by the submission of proposals only when the partners also found them acceptable. The need to change this practice was first formulated last year, but now this demand seems to be fading away.

[Medgyessy] The Hungarian position is unchanged. We do not make proposals that could be accepted as a compromise; we concentrate on Hungary's interests. Of course, the final result could end in some sort of compromise; all negotiations generally end in such a compromise. The Hungarian concept of CEMA is based on the fact that Hungary must adjust to Europe, and a narrow cooperation could have a place here, but it is not certain that CEMA will provide the framework for such cooperation. It might if we succeed in reorganizing CEMA on market foundations.

Strong Poor Countries

[Lakatos] The reform of CEMA was already a subject for analysis at Hungarian universities 20 years ago. A whole library of studies appeared about the various concepts, but nothing changed in practice.

[Medgyessy] In my view, the current CEMA is unable to reorganize on market foundations, and it is an illusion to count on such a development because of the different levels of development among members, the geographical distances involved, and the different economic policies.

[Lakatos] However, openness and the creation of a market economy are now part of almost every economic policy in the socialist countries.

[Medgyessy] The situation is not so clear-cut. Individual countries require various levels of changes; for example, the Soviet Union has a totally different concept about joining the world market compared with Hungary's concept. They do not legalize all the things that their own apparatus has already implemented in practice. You should not only think of the socialist countries in Europe. Cooperation always adjusts to the poorest countries, such as Cuba and the two member countries in the Far East. Thus, both the prices and the credit conditions are made for them, which state that they are poor and that others should adjust to this. There was also a great debate about this in Sofia; we said we should not recognize the privileges accorded to these countries in the CEMA mechanism, but many members opposed this.

To Guarantee the Energy Supply

[Lakatos] In other words, there is a need for a narrower cooperation, a smaller CEMA.

[Medgyessy] Indeed, there will be need for a new integration to emerge between some countries, but it is impossible to create such an integration in a short time. The proposal to create a CEMA made up of East European countries does not solve this problem either.

[Lakatos] I presume that you do not include the Soviet Union in this separate CEMA.

[Medgyessy] Yes, but, in this case, Romania, Bulgaria, and even the GDR would be left out.

[Lakatos] I do not understand this, because the GDR is more developed than Hungary.

[Medgyessy] I do not see the intention of any of these countries to develop a market economy. Thus, we need a narrower circle. However, first we must determine the basic principles, and then we can decide which countries will find it worthwhile to participate in this integration.

[Lakatos] What will happen to CEMA until then?

[Medgyessy] We must try to preserve the tangible advantages that would disintegrate if we do not halt the disintegration of CEMA.

[Lakatos] I presume you do not refer to the creation of convertibility, something that would cause serious losses to Hungary in the beginning.

[Medgyessy] Indeed, switching over to accounting in convertible currency would increase the expenses by about $1-2 billion in the first year. However, one who wants a market economy cannot demand that we balance our accounts in transferable rubles; in addition, a major part of Hungarian exports and imports is carried out according to interstate agreements, not under market conditions. The problem is not whether we lose or win with the change. However, when I mentioned the advantages, I did not mean this but the supplies of raw material and energy.

[Lakatos] In other words, the guarantee of energy and raw material supply represents the advantage for us.

[Medgyessy] Yes, because Hungary is investing huge sums in large-scale projects to obtain energy. In switching over to accounting in convertible currency, we should preserve these advantages to guarantee some kind of preferential treatment for the supply and demand. The current contracts were made in transferable rubles, but these agreements should be revised, just like the Yamburg agreement should be revised.

[Lakatos] I am not sure that Hungary will also be able to come up with economic arguments to substantiate its intentions during negotiations. The dependence is not mutual.

[Medgyessy] However, Hungarian meat and corn are considered to be products marketable for hard currency, just as energy supplies, and these products are also cheaper because of transportation costs. In addition, the spirit and implementation of current agreements differ from each other, and therefore we should adjust these elements. The other thing is that we should preserve this market, which is very important for Hungarian enterprises. I think it is clear to everyone that we are not talking about an integration and that we would like to preserve "only" normal trade and accounting relations. Of course, the current CEMA cooperation has also some elements of integration, such as cooperation in environmental protection and in standardization.

We Need the Market

[Lakatos] Hungary's future will depend on Soviet energy supplies for a long time to come, even if cooperation changes. In addition, agreements on supply of energy have not been signed this year, and many people think that this makes our prospects greatly uncertain.

[Medgyessy] Look, so far, we have not had particular problems. The supply of energy would have not been certain even if we had signed an agreement for this year.

GDR Lauds NATO Proposals at Vienna Talks

LD0802173890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1606 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Vienna (ADN)—The head of the GDR delegation at the Vienna negotiations, Ambassador Klaus-Dieter Ernst, has described the new NATO proposals as "steps in the right direction." Today he stated to ADN's Vienna correspondent that it was known that the GDR, the USSR, and the other Warsaw Pact states were striving to withdraw all foreign troops by the end of the decade. However, the proposal to limit the U.S. and USSR units stationed in Central Europe to 195,000 men each left questions open. Among these were the 160,000 men from France, Great Britain, Canada, Belgium, and the Netherlands in the FRG, as well as the problem of troop strengths outside Central Europe. [passage omitted]

GDR's Buehring Views Vienna Doctrines Seminar

AU0802103590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Feb 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Good Marks for the CSCE Seminar on Military Doctrines"]

[Text] Vienna—At a news conference in Vienna on Monday [5 February], representatives of Warsaw Pact and NATO member states for the most part made positive assessments at the end of the Seminar on Military Doctrines. They all praised the demonstrated readiness for openness. They said that the efforts made to dispel feelings of being threatened by the other side had helped strengthen confidence and stability in Europe.

In his concluding statement, Ambassador Guenter Buehring, head of the GDR delegation, described the seminar as the beginning of a process of understanding between high-ranking military officials of the CSCE states, which should be continued. He said that it was an "impetus intended to bring the new military thinking into line with a reduction in conventional forces, which will be negotiated." He said that the Modrow plan brought new aspects into the discussion and that it had become clear "that the ideas concerning the possible unification of the two German states are embedded in the pan-European process, and, in the final analysis, this problem can only be solved within this framework."

CSSR Delegate on European Conventional Forces

LD0602201590 Prague CTK in English 1837 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Vienna Feb 6 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovakia's delegate to the Vienna talks on conventional forces in Europe Ladislav Balcar told CTK it can be only hoped that the forthcoming talks between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze will help find solutions which could be confirmed at a meeting of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO foreign ministers in Ottawa, Canada, this month.

Settlement of the issue of troops is one of the topical political items on the agenda of the Vienna forum, the Czechoslovak ambassador said. First of all, it is necessary to determine the maximum level to which the numbers of troops of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO in a zone stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Urals should be reduced. The Warsaw Treaty members will have to consider most probably whether it is useful to insist on the level of 1,350,000 million [figure as received] men under the present conditions. Secondly, the number of troops deployed outside a country's own territory must be determined, Balcar stressed, adding that U.S. President George Bush's initiative to set the level at 195,000 men on each side can make the solution to this sensitive issue much more easier.

In its work concerning e.g. elaborating definitions of individual categories of weaponry, creation of prerequisites for exchanges of information, verification and stabilizing and limiting measures, the Czechoslovak delegation consistently asserts its own national, political, military and security interests.

14th Session of National Assembly Resumes

AU0802133790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 8 Feb 90

["Statement" by National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov at the opening session of the resumed 14th Session of the Ninth National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly deputies, 365 deputies are present in this hall. Considering that we have a quorum, we can begin with our work.

I open the session. We continue our work on the agenda adopted on 25 January 1990 with some amendments.

I propose that we discuss the following items:

1. Draft regulations on amendments and addenda to the regulations on the work of the National Assembly.

2. Draft law on amendments and addenda to the Law on Cultural Monuments and Museums.

3. Election of a permanent commission on questions of youth and sports and amendments on the leaderships of some commissions.

4. Election of a parliamentary commission in charge of preparing a proposal on the statute of the Radio and Television Committee.

5. Election of a parliamentary commission in charge of investigating the construction of the Belene Electric Nuclear Power Station.

6. Proposal by the chairman of the Council of Ministers on the composition of the government.

7. Proposal on changes in the composition of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

8. Government declaration.

9. Proposal on relieving the chairman of the parliamentary commission on investigating and resolving certain urgent questions related to certain abuses and violations of the law in state, economic, and social life, and election of a new chairman.

10. Question by National Assembly Deputy Nikolay Khaytov related to the closing down of the Plovdiv Nonferrous Metal Plant and adopting a view on the petitions by the population of the area near the nonferrous metal plant between Plovdiv and Asenovgrad, and the Lead-Zinc Plant in Kurdzhali.

11. Application for canceling the credentials of a National Assembly deputy.

Are there any proposals related to the agenda? There are no such proposals, I ask the National Assembly deputies who are in favor of the agenda to vote. Is anyone against it? No, there are no abstentions, either. The agenda is adopted.

Further on Session's Opening

AU0802150990 Sofia BTA in English 1441 GMT 8 Feb 90

["Parliament Appoints Ministers"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 8 (BTA)—The composition of the new Bulgarian Cabinet is the major item on the agenda of the third resumption of the fourteenth Parliament session, which started on January 26. Among the expected things are also a declaration of the government, changes in the State Council composition, election of a few parliamentary commissions, and a change in the working regulations of the National Assembly.

The M.P.'s approved the change in the working regulations of the National Assembly, adopted in 1977. The alteration is necessary due to the rapidly changing political situation in the country after November 10 and the growing role of the National Assembly.

The changes refer to the oath of the members of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers, of the Supreme Council chairman and the chief prosecutor. The appeals for building of a developed socialist society and loyalty to communism are dropped from the former text. The new text reflects the democratic values of the Bulgarian people: loyalty to the Constitution and laws, to the rights and freedoms of the citizens.

The second change is related with the legislative work of parliament. The existing practice to adopt bills after two votings at one and the same session, and only as an exception after they are voted at two consecutive sessions, is changed. It was agreed that the second voting can take place at the third session at the latest after voting in principle the tabled bill.

Lukanov Proposes Cabinet

AU0802144790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1347 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Speech by Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, at resumed 14th Session of the Ninth National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly deputies, the National Assembly elected me to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers and entrusted me with the composition of the new government. In doing so, the National Assembly deputies expressed the unanimous opinion that under the present conditions, Bulgaria requires a government based on broad foundations, one that should express the national consensus on basic and urgent measures aimed at the stabilization of social and economic life, and at guaranteeing a peaceful transition to the country's democratic construction.

In fulfilling this assignment entrusted to me, I held numerous consultations with representatives of parties and social forces, with public figures, scientists, and cultural figures.

Regardless of the results of these consulatations, on which I will further brief you, I would like to convey my impressions:

The idea of national consensus as one of the decisive prerequisites for real democratism and for the successful implementation of innovative processes in our country is shared by broad circles of the Bulgarian public.

During the consultations, we reached preliminary agreements that permitted us to establish a representative government composed of competent and authoritative personalities, with an expanded participation of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and with a share of nonparty members that is unprecedented. The representatives of the Union of Democratic Forces expressed their refusal to participate in the government, stressing however, their readiness for a constructive cooperation with the government on the basis of the dialogue that is being held within the framework of the national roundtable.

You are acquainted with yesterday's decision of the BZNS Administrative Council, according to which the union withdrew from participation in the already agreed upon composition of the government.

Under the new situation, and in view of averting a weakening of the executive power, with all ensuing negative, and even dangerous consequences for the nation's interests, I propose to the National Assembly to approve a Cabinet composed of members of the Bulgarian Communist Party, which has the majority of seats in the present National Assembly.

I would like to point out at once that the government, in case it obtains the parliament's confidence, considers as its main task to serve nationwide and not narrow party interests within the framework of its mandate until free and democratic elections will be held in our country. The government will rely on the support of and will be ready to conduct a constructive dialogue with all public forces in the National Assembly and outside it that are ready for such dialogue.

I will dwell more in detail on the basic tasks that the government regards as priority issues in a declaration, which I am going to deliver in a while on behalf of the governrment.

I propose to the National Assembly, on the basis of Article 87, paragraph 16, and Article 101 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to discuss and approve a proposal on electing deputy chairmen and members of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, in the following order:

Chudomir Aleksandrov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Comrade Aleksandrov is widely known, I shall not dwell on data about him.

Belcho Belchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of finance. It is unnecessary to provide any data on him either.

Corresponding Member Konstantin Kotsev, deputy minister of the Council of Ministers and minister of education. Comrade Kotsev is a well-known Bulgarian historian, a prominent figure in the world of science and education.

Professor Nora Ananieva, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Comrade Ananieva is a sociological, political science specialist, and deputy director of the Institute on Contemporary Social Theories, and an outstanding figure in our women's movement.

Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense.

Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs.

Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of internal affairs.

Ivan Tenev, minister of the economy and planning. Comrade Tenev is a National Assembly deputy, an outstanding representative of our economic and industrial circles. Until recently he was chairman of the Electronics Association, presently he is deputy minister of foreign economic relations.

Krustyu Stanilov, minister of industry and technologies. Comrade Stanilov is presently deputy minister of industry and technologies. He is the former chairman of the Transport Construction and Agricultural Machine Building Association. He is a long-serving economic figure.

Petur Bashikorov, minister of foreign economic relations. Comrade Bashikarov worked as deputy minister and first deputy minister of foreign economic relations. In recent years, he was ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in Japan.

Ekaterina Marinova, minister of trade and services. Comrade Marinova worked for a long time in this area; she served as deputy minister of trade and services, first deputy minister of agriculture and food industry, was manager of our food industry branch for a certain period, and is now serving as Bulgarian consul general in Leningrad.

Academician Asen Khadzhiolov—minister of science and higher education. You know Academician Khadzhiolov. Until now he was the minister of education.

Professor Ivan Chernozemski—minister of public health and social welfare. Prof. Chernozemski is the leader of the National Cancer Research Center.

Professor Todor Pandov—minister of agriculture and forests. Prof. Pandov is an agrarian-economist and deputy rector of the Agrarian Academy.

Comrade Ivan Krustev—minister of construction, architecture, and amenities. At present, Comrade Krustev is a deputy minister at this ministry. He was general manager of the Industrial Construction organization, leader of the

National Technological Control organization, and deputy chairman of the higher Committee on Architecture and Amenities.

Pencho Penev—minister of justice. Comrade Penev is chief of department at this ministry. He is 45, has 20 years experience, and has worked 13 years as judge and deputy chief judge of a district court. He is candidate of jurisprudence, and, at present, as I said, he is working at the Ministry of Justice.

Veselin Pavlov—minister of transportation. Comrade Veselin Pavlov is general director of the Bulgarian State Railroads. He has wide experience in the area of transportation.

Stefan Stoilov, senior scientific fellow. Comrade Stoilov is deputy chairman of the Economic Institute of the Bulgarian Academy of Science and a noted economist. I propose him for the post of minister without portfolio in charge of issues of the economic reform.

Georgi Georgiev—chairman of the Committee of State and People's Control. He also holds this post at present.

Comrades, I propose that we rename the Committee on Environmental Protection the Ministry of Environmental Protection. I will propose the leader of this ministry later on, perhaps at the next session of the National Assembly.

I propose to rename the Committee on Culture the Ministry of Culture—this is already clear from my previous words.

I also propose to reorganize the Committee on Science and Higher Education into a ministry—this is also clear from what I have said before. The Committee on Material Economy should be added to the Ministry of Economy and Planning, I mean, they should merge, so that unity can be guaranteed in the policy related to managing the national material balances, which are divided now on a functional basis between the Ministry of Economy and the Committee on Material Economy.

I do not propose any other structural changes because at present this is not necessary or important, and furthermore, our public is allergic to the frequent and often unfounded changes in the structures.

As far as the committees that do not have the rank of ministries are concerned, their leaders will be appointed by the chairman of the State Council, and I will make the appropriate proposals to the chairman of the State Council at an early opportunity.

Convinced that the proposed government will be able to fully implement its functions until the election, I ask the National Assembly to approve the proposal on electing deputy chairmen and members of the Council of Ministers.

New Cabinet Approved

AU0802145690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1432 GMT 8 Feb

[Report by reporter Tsveti Gerov at the 14th session of the Ninth National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Excerpts] The new cabinet as already proposed by Andrey Lukanov has just been voted in. I will remind you of the composition of the new cabinet. [passage omitted]

I will recall for those who did not hear the previous report that proposals were also made for renaming certain committees and reorganizing them into ministries. The new ministries are: Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Science and Higher Education, and Ministry of Environmental Protection.

At the moment, the National Assembly deputies are welcoming the new ministers, who are taking their seats in the Presidium box.

Government's Declaration

AU0802202490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 8 Feb 90

["Declaration of the New Government" read by Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov at the 8 February evening meeting of the National Assembly session—live]

[Text] Comrade people's deputies,

The new Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, in which you entrusted me with the post of premier, begins its functions at a very complex moment for the country. We are in a crisis that has numerous dimensions. It has economic, political, ideological and moral aspects. This also is a crisis of the people's confidence in the institutions that have led the country until now.

Against this background, and without underestimating even one of the numerous functions and tasks of the government, we think that within the framework of its mandate the government must concentrate its efforts in the following three priority directions:

1. Developing and implementing an anti-crisis program, combined with efficient measures on social security, that we will submit to the National Assembly for discussion at its next session. At the same time, we view the anti-crisis program, in essence, as the first stage in and a necessary prerequisite for implementing a radical economic reform. We also are prepared to present our fundamental views on this radical economic reform at the National Assembly.

2. Implementing the government's obligations related to preparing and conducting the forthcoming parliamentary elections, and more specifically, accelerating the work on the new Election Law and the Law on Parties, as

well as to the measures related to strengthening order and legality before and during the election. I hope that those measures will be supported by our entire society.

3. Preserving the confidence of the foreign partners and creditors in Bulgaria as a reliable trade partner. Their support and cooperation is one of the important prerequisites for preserving our economic stability and social tranquility, and the successful implementation of the process of democratization in all spheres of society.

Unquestionably, the most important task at the moment is to engage all of the potential possibilities and reserves of our economy and the efforts of our people in order to tame the negative tendencies in our economic life and to prevent the sharp decline in the people's standard of living, and to create the initial preconditions for overcoming the crisis.

Without going into too many details, I would like to point out the following urgent tasks in this context:

a) Adopting decisive and uncompromising measures for the financial improvement of the economy, first of all by decreasing the budget expenditures.

b) Preventing the further deterioration of the state of the domestic market and achieving a relative stabilization of the population's standard of living. The government will make special efforts to protect the socially weak strata and groups of the population.

c) The negative tendencies that continue in the sphere of the balance of payments sharply pose the task of increasing our exports and reasonably regulating the expenditures for imports. This cannot be achieved through the compulsory administrative means that were used in the past. A fundamentally new system of economic incentives and restrictions is necessary, which we intend to propose within the framework of the anti-crisis program.

d) We clearly understand that the national wealth cannot be created by restrictions. It is necessary that now, when we are taking the first serious steps toward a radical change in the economic system, we give priority to all measures that stimulate the economic initiative and enterprise and that ensure adequate remuneration for the work and intellect that have been invested.

Without going into too many details in this sphere, I would like to point out the necessity of boldly regulating the economic activity, but destroying the absurd system of rules and regulations that chain fresh thinking and economic creativity.

In this context, as soon as in the next few days we will create a Central Commission and commissions at the ministries and people's councils that within a short period of time must revoke all redundant norms inherited from the administrative-command period.

It would be correct, despite the difficulties that the budget faces, to strive toward alleviating the tax burden of the companies and other enterprises, as well as toward providing certain purposeful tax and credit alleviations. We must stimulate with a special force the production of consumer goods and services for the population and our export in exchange for convertible foreign currency.

e) Many sharp social problems have accumulated in the country. It would be frivolous on the part of the government to promise that it will resolve them within several months. Nevertheless, within the country's possibilities at the present stage, we will direct our attention and resources toward the most acute problems, such as health protection, apartment construction, care for the socially weak strata, accelerating the solution of at least a part of the most acute ecological problems, and so forth.

As I pointed out, we also view the anti-crisis program as a stage in the radical economic reform. Without dwelling now on this great topic, I would only like to point out that the government is firmly convinced of the necessity of advancing toward a comprehensive reform of economic life in the country on the principles of the market economy. This does not mean that we underestimate the possibility of regulation by the state, as long as it is being implemented through economic means and does not contradict the logic of the market and the basic principles of the reform.

The experience of other countries shows that the objectively necessary transition toward a market economy is not a painless process. It has its social price. It is the task of the present and future governments to apply a system of social security measures that will reduce to a minimum the temporary, unfavorable social consequences, while observing the principle of maximum compensation for the low-income social groups.

The unconditional and categorical observance of the principle of equality of the forms of ownership and management will be a crucial issue, both of the radical economic reform and the anti-crisis program. The government will conduct a policy of equally developing all forms of ownership in implementing economic policy. This means state, municipal, cooperative, public, private, shareholder, with or without foreign participation, and other forms of ownership.

The producer and his rights, interests, and social responsibility will be in the center of the economic reform. In this context, we will search for the most suitable form of better combining the high discipline, efficiency, and ability to compete of the Bulgarian enterprises with developing production self-management.

I would like to touch upon an issue that may seem private, but I think that today it acquires a special topical character. This is the issue of the status of the leader in the system of economic management. Without authoritative and competent economic leaders who are open to the world's novelties and realities and capable of resolving the exceptionally complex problems of our economy and everyday life, we have no chance of making progress. Therefore, along with the justified criticism addressed at certain discredited cadres, who have detached themselves from the labor collectives, we must do everything possible to defend the prestige and freedom of action of the real leader. For this purpose and in coordination with the trade unions, we intend to propose at the next session certain urgent changes in the Labor Code.

I would like to especially point out the state of agriculture and agrarian relations. I want to do this not only because we are on the eve of the new agricultural campaign, but also because our society is convinced that it is there where the most significant and rapid results in stabilizing the domestic market and increasing the export potential can be achieved. We will do everything to support the agrarian producers, both cooperative and private ones, with a view to achieving the maximum possible production increase as early as during the current year. We will consistently implement a line of encouraging all forms of management. The main criterion of determining our attitude toward any form of ownership and management will not be the ideological stereotype, but rather the consideration of whether the specific form guarantees the full-fledged utilization of the possibilities of the Bulgarian land under conditions of maximum production and minimum expenditures.

In order to support the individual producers, we intend to adopt steps related to creating a specialized agricultural bank, introducing a system of tax and credit alleviations, and encouraging many specific production initiatives aimed at resolving such pressing problems as supplying equipment, fertilizers, chemicals, and other necessary resources.

We must decisively break up the present ossified system of purchasing by affording the producer the possibility of selecting by himself the channels for marketing his produce. The revived Bulgarian cooperative movement can play a significant role in this respect.

Comrade people's representatives,

The forthcoming election will be for all of us an event of exceptional political importance and a decisive step toward restoring the people's sovereignty and asserting parliamentary democracy in Bulgaria. We want the forthcoming elections to be a manifestation of the national responsibility and general interest in the democratic renewal of society. Therefore, we should do everything possible to rely on the firm democratic traditions of the Bulgarian state, and with common efforts block the road of the manner of political behavior that in the past caused our country so much misfortune and calamities.

We, the government, will do everything to ensure that relations and contests between the political parties and forces take place through civilized and proper means.

In this context, all parties and forces in Bulgaria, including the opposition, can rely on an objective and impartial attitude on the part of the government. As for our part, we hope that every constructive proposal and act of the state organs will find broad public support.

In this respect, we would again like to confirm the government's readiness to cooperate at the national roundtable and ensure the necessary public consent for important decisions and steps the government intends to implement.

As I noted before, the adoption of the Law on Elections, the Law on Political Parties, and the Law on the Press will have a special importance for the successful and democratic conduct of the elections. Together with the National Assembly commissions, we will do what is necessary to accelerate the preparations for discussing those laws at the next National Assembly session.

Ensuring the real independence of the judicial system and creating conditions for its correct functioning will have great importance for the normal conduct of the elections.

In our activity related to preparing the elections, we will be led by interests that are above the interests of the party. We will do everything that is within the framework of the government's constitutional obligations so that the election campaign and the elections themselves take place in a calm and democratic atmosphere, while observing the legal order. We hope that this position of ours will be supported by all sociopolitical forces interested in conducting truly free and democratic elections.

Esteemed comrade people's representatives,

The 10th of November and the subsequent steps along the road of democratization and social renewal brought our country out of its international isolation. This gave us the chance to rely on the support and understanding of the international community and our friends and partners, and thus facilitates the solution of the difficult problems that we face. We can boldly say that international activity today acquires exceptional practical importance for our nation. In this context, we must clearly understand that our international positions will be favorable to the extent that we assert with all national efforts the name and notion of Bulgaria as a reliable partner and a country of social and political stability.

Also, under the new international circumstances, we attribute the necessary importance to our relations of alliance and cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

We justly relate both the economic prospects and guaranteeing the national security and territorial integrity of the Bulgarian state to our participation in those organizations, and to our alliance and partnership relations with the USSR.

Joining in a timely way the processes that form the future united Europe has a new importance for our country. In this context, the process of gradually forming the united European Economic (?Community), strengthening European economic integration within the framework of the entire continent, and overcoming the barriers between the different international economic groups has a special importance for our national economy. We note with interest the idea of the East European countries joining the EEC and we intend to carefully study it.

We will be led in our international relations by the principle of adopting all useful and valuable elements produced by modern civilization, regardless of where they come from and without any ideological prejudices.

The integration of our economy in the world economy requires Bulgaria's full-fledged participation in the multilateral regulation of international economic life. For this purpose, we will intensify our efforts to join GATT, and as soon as possible we will adopt steps related to joining the IMF and the World Bank of Reconstruction and Development.

We would especially like to note that Bulgaria will further correctly implement its international obligations. At the same time, we hope that our creditors, the governments of the developed Western countries, and then international trade and currency-financial organizations will show understanding for our situation. We expect to utilize the possible alleviations that are so much needed by every country that makes the complex transition from central planning to a market economy.

In the future, we will also make special efforts to develop good-neighborly relations and cooperation with all Balkan countries. Today there are conditions for developing relations among the Balkan states in accordance with the common positive tendencies that have so radically changed the situation on our continent. Bulgaria will do everything to strengthen this process.

Allow me to refrain from touching upon all of the other important areas of national life in this declaration, and more specifically on education, culture, and scientific-technical creativity. I would only like to point out that within the brief period of time we have at our disposal, we will try to take real steps toward releasing the nation's intellectual life from the numerous accumulations of the totalitarian regime and to create an atmosphere of real creative freedom and competition of ideas, talents, and abilities.

Finally, I would like to point out that the government has no intention of presenting unreasonable promises to you and the nation. We take note of the complex nature of the problems and the time that is necessary for overcoming the crisis in our society.

We will make honest and energetic efforts to achieve a real change for the better. However, for this we will need the decisive support of the entire society and all sociopolitical forces. It is hardly necessary to point out that the measures for overcoming the crisis that will be adopted by the present and future governments can only achieve results under conditions of economic stability and civic peace.

On behalf of the government, I would like to address an insistent appeal to all labor collectives to refrain from actions that, under the present conditions and possibilities of our economy, would only strengthen the crisis and confront us with economic ruin and all of the ensuing social and political consequences.

The sense of responsibility, discipline, and care for our common Bulgarian home must prevail over emotions. We need more patience, good sense, and tolerance.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Deputies Ratify Bills

AU0802204390 Sofia BTA in English
1837 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 8 (BTA)—At this afternoon's session of the National Assembly, the M.P.'s ratified the bill on amendments and addenda to the Law on Monuments of Culture and Museums, regulating that the declaration of the monuments of culture should be done on a strictly scientific basis in compliance with the world criteria and methods and the participation of most competent experts. The declaration of the monuments of culture will be done by the Committee for Culture following the proposal of the National Institute for Monuments of Culture.

In the discussion on the bill, M.P. Mikhail Genovski noted that one-third of the 10,000 common graves registered in the country have been devastated by treasure hunters. Their methods of work are superb and they apparently have someone to patronize them, he stressed.

A new parliamentary commission was elected on issues of youth, sports and tourism under the chairmanship of Kiril Zarev, brigade leader at the Elektronika Plant.

The managing boards of some of the parliament commissions were changed. Boris Karamfilov was elected chairman of the Standing Commission on Issues of Defence and Internal Affairs.

A commission was elected which is to consider the proposal of the chairman of the Committee on Television and Radio in relation to this organization's statute. It should study the experience of the developed democratic countries in this sphere.

The proposal for setting up a parliamentary commission on the nuclear power station which is under construction in Belene led to stormy discussions. It was proposed to stop the construction of this project until a resolution was adopted. The opinion prevailed, however, that construction should not be interrupted, as the commission will be speedily ready with a conclusion. It was proposed that foreign experts be included in the experts consultation, particularly in the sphere of seismology and security of the future station.

The National Assembly entrusted me with the task to compose a Cabinet on a broad basis, a Cabinet which will express the national concord, Andrey Lukanov stressed before he presented the new Cabinet. This refers to a government which will work for stabilizing economic and public life and ensure a peaceful transition to the country's democratic structure.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers spoke about the numerous consultations which he held with parties, social forces, scholars, peoples of culture. The disagreement of the Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS) to participate in the new Cabinet was followed by the Bulgarian Agrarian Party's (BZNS) decision to withdraw from participation in the government composition which had already been coordinated.

Under the new situation, Andrey Lukanov went on to say, aiming to avoid weakening of the executive power and the resulting dangerous consequences for the nation's interests, a government was proposed, consisting of members of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], which has a majority in parliament.

Mr. Lukanov stressed that the government will serve the all nation and not narrow party interests and expressed readiness for a dialogue with all social forces.

The new Cabinet proposed by Andrey Lukanov was approved (we run the names of the new ministers in a separate information piece).

Under the present political situation, not everybody in this country takes into account the priority of national interests in Bulgaria for the peaceful transition to democracy, stressed Rumen Serbezov, who read the declaration of the BCP Supreme Council. The SDS's disagreement to participate in a coalition government and the BZNS withdrawal, irrespective of the formerly given consent, created a new and gravely complicated situation. Without immediate and decisive measures the pending deterioration of the economy cannot be stopped. No weakening of the country's international positions and security whatsoever is admissible either.

We declare once again that the forthcoming free elections will tell through the supreme power of the people's vote who will assume responsibility for Bulgaria's ruling, Rumen Serbezov stressed. Under the existing situation the BCP thinks that it should assume its responsibility for the state's normal functioning.

On behalf of the BZNS group Viktor Vulkov said that the Agrarian Party cannot participate in the new government as it thinks that only a broadly represented interim cabinet of national concord will be in a position to solve the country's urgent problems.

The chairman of the BZNS parliamentary group said that the Agrarian Party is not going into an opposition and its representatives will continue their participation in the country's rule.

He expressed satisfaction with the fact that the new government will be headed by Andrey Lukanov, who received the unanimous vote of the BZNS parliamentary group.

Viktor Vulkov assured the M.P.'s that the BZNS will act in the same direction with the new government in the fulfilment of its initiatives and resolutions, in compliance with the Agrarian Party political programme.

Assembly Session Ends

AU0802223390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2200 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Excerpts] The most important item on the agenda of today's 14th session of the Ninth National Assembly was the proposal by Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov on the composition of the new government, which was approved by the people's deputies. [passage omitted]

All members of the new Cabinet took the oath of office, and the people's deputies required them to make a declaration of their property within a 10-day period. [passage omitted]

Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov read a declaration of the government led by him.

The National Assembly session then ended.

Lukanov Says New Cabinet 'Can Be Expanded'

AU0802203590 Sofia BTA in English 1856 GMT 8 Feb 90

["Cabinet Can Be Expanded"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 8 (BTA)—After the election of the entirely communist government, the first of its kind in the history of Bulgaria, Mr. Andrey Lukanov underlined before journalists that in its activity it will not be guided by narrow party interests, but will seek to be a government of national concord of all the Bulgarian people. The Cabinet is open to other members and can be expanded, Mr. Lukanov added.

Up to the last moment I had the optimistic feeling that the consultations were going well, he went on to say. A variant had been worked out that envisaged to include five ministers of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and five non-party-member ministers along with one deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers per each of these two groups. Unfortunately this variant was not realized.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov said that among the priorities of the government are the preparation for the forthcoming elections, the elaboration of an anticrisis program and working out the reform of the country's international relations. We should not break the relations with our partners which are so important at the moment, he underlined.

The leader of the government pointed out that the three months preceding the elections are not sufficient to solve all problems, but in his view the most important problem is to establish and stabilize a democratic pluralistic power in the country which would be possible if elections are held.

Concerning the two unoccupied ministerial posts Mr. Lukanov said that he would be glad if his friend Petur Beron agreed to take the Ministry of Environment Protection. At the consultations Mr. Petur Beron said that the discipline of his membership in the Union of Democratic Forces does not allow him to take this post, although he is interested in it.

Speaking about the minister of culture, Mr. Andrey Lukanov considers that additional consultations should be held with intellectual circles to select a man who will have indisputable prestige.

Mr. Lukanov admitted that he was surprised by the refusal of the BZNS to take part in the government. I do not want to comment on the decision of the BZNS ruling council now, but I am pleased to be able to say that the BZNS national representatives backed up the cabinet proposed and declared they were ready to cooperate. At the latest consultations a similar statement was made by the Union of Democratic Forces.

I would not say that this is a caretaker government, because it is an adequate one and has all political functions and authority, the chairman of the Council of Ministers pointed out. But I tried to enroll people who really know their stuff and who can start the implementation of decisive reforms. First of all we will begin with the elimination of the system of numberless normative acts and obstacles which now impede people's initiative and independence.

'Text' of Mladenov Speech to 14th BCP Congress

AU0702064990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 Jan 90 pp 1-5

["Political Report and Political Declaration of the BCP (Bulgarian Communist Party) Central Committee: On the Party's Renewal for the Construction of a Democratic Socialist Society in Bulgaria," read by Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, at the opening session of the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress at the Sofia People's Palace of Culture on 30 January]

[Text] Comrades: This is a historical date in the century-old history of our party—it is the first time that an extraordinary congress has been convened. Before submitting the basic problems that the Central Committee and the commission in charge of the congressional preparation propose for discussion, I would like to to draw your attention to some preliminary questions. They are of particular importance today and you are expected to express your opinions on them.

The 14th Extraordinary BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Congress is taking place under special circumstances and is prompted by exceptional causes. These circumstances and causes can be most briefly defined as a situation of crisis in our country. The delegates to the congress should not forget even for a moment and should by no means underestimate the fact that Bulgaria is involved in a serious economic, political, and moral crisis today. This situation cannot continue for long because it will involve consequences for the people, the country, and party that would be almost irreversible.

The reasons that made it necessary to convene the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party are also based on the fact that our own party is now involved in a rather complicated situation. Our party was affected to a considerable degree, and we should all be clearly aware of this. It is not a question of exaggerating, or dramatizing the situation, but we should view the development under way in our country soberly and learn useful lessons from the events in the GDR, in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. The experience of perestroyka in the Soviet Union is of particular importance for us, and this applies both to the positive results and to difficulties.

What was the reason for this situation of crisis in which our country is involved and for the weakening of the party? Different aspects of this question were touched upon at several plenums held following 10 November 1989. It is clear that the final answer requires comprehensive and detailed research, which can only be obtained as a general solution based on discussions, on a lengthy and detailed scientific analysis related to the party's history and of the development in our society in the last decades.

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that we will not be able to overcome the crisis, or restructure the party and society, that we will not be able to protect ourselves against new distortions unless we thoroughly analyze the profound deformations and abuses that Todor Zhivkov's authoritarian regime inflicted on our party, on our society and our people over the course of more than 30 years. The present crisis and the present state of our party are the inevitable consequences and the social expression of those distortions.

The first task of this congress is to denounce the disgraceful actions and deformations committed by Todor Zhivkov and his authoritarian regime, especially in recent years, to determine these shortcomings as deviations from the correct approach, from our party's traditions and ideals, and to reject these as incompatible with the party's and people's ideals and principles.

Todor Zhivkov's authoritarian regime was a classical example of undemocratic power. Such examples abound in history, under all kinds of regimes and in all eras. However, this regime distinguished itself by some peculiar features related to specific conditions existing in our country and to Todor Zhivkov's personality. This includes his almost pathological suspiciousness and vanity, his obsession with being considered a theoretician despite his total lack of any intellectual qualifications. He was unscrupulous and devious, he did not hesitate to use any means whatsoever in order to achieve his goals and interests.

Especially in recent years, a small clique of relatives, close friends, and his favorite proteges formed around him. They were careerists and corrupted people who actually exercised the power within the party and state. A clan that adopted all major decisions on crucial issues of the party and country without consulting anyone was established. Through denunciations and slander, through insinuations and false accusations, through infinite reorganizations, or court trials this group of people brutally oppressed all cadres who dared to criticize, or who threatened the safety of the regime. The atmosphere of distrust and intrigues, the arbitrary and uncivilized forms through which the regime implemented its leading and repressive activities, reached their climax in recent years. The country's international prestige was also badly affected.

At the same time, we could conclude that such an authoritarian, personal regime was no coincidence. It stemmed from an entire system of political circumstances. It emerged after the country's development on the basis of the people's democratic model was interrupted in 1947. As a result of objective and subjective reasons that are well known to all of us, the command-administrative system prevailed as an alternative over the real people's power, for which the party was striving in alliance with the other progressive, social forces.

Considerable deformations were committed in the sphere of ideology. Postulates were canonized that applied to past stages, but no longer conformed with the needs and achievements of human progress. Under such circumstances, the stagnating world outlook exhausts its possibilities, and a social system that could have been considered progressive for the political circumstances of a certain epoch begins to stagnate and disintegrate. It becomes isolated from the world if the progressive trends in mankind's development are not perceived in time. Encountering permanent difficulties and failures resulting from the low standards of political culture and ethics, the rulers often had recourse to coercive methods in order to impose the solution of difficult and controversial social problems. Comrades, we would not be wrong in admitting that this coercive approach in building a new society proved a convenient instrument for the prevalence of the lumpen over the intellectuals, for undermining the humanitarian goals of authentic socialism. Unfortunately, this happened precisely in our country.

In order to be objective and to analyze the reasons for the current unfavorable situation in our country with greater realism, we should consider things from a dialectical point of view. We consider the life of our nation as a uniform process, in which ups and downs are following each other, or as Marx said, "despite the claims for progress, manifestations of regression and a movement in circles are permanently observed." In this context, we should immediately say: Despite all vicissitudes imposed by fate, the socialist transformations fundamentally changed our country's outlook and played the role of rescuers in its historical fate. Some of our political opponents are trying by all means to deny these results. They are lighting candles in memory of the "idyllic" prewar democracy, and exalting the virtues of bourgeois-monarchist Bulgaria. They are using all means to prove that only the Communists are responsbile for the fact that Bulgarian society has not achieved the stage of development and prosperity that is desired by all people.

Old idols are revived in our country today, flags with long-forgotten symbols are taken out of mothballs. However, what kind of virtuous times, what kind of moral standards are these compatriots of ours nostalgically lamenting for? Are they lamenting for the series of armed conspiracies and counter-conspiracies, are they lamenting for the famous infightings and slaughters that "made Bulgaria famous" beginning in Petrich and ending in Marseilles? Was Sofia, smothered by the destructive British-American bombs, a credit to the Bulgarian bourgeois rulers, or to those civilized Western leaders who sent their aircrafts over a defenseless Balkan city? Or is the fact that our Bulgarian motherland was more than once torn apart as a result of notorious dynastic adventures a reason for glorifying the bourgeois past as an era of peace and freedom?

No, this past actually prepared the prerequisites for our further development. The people once and for all rejected it by the 9 September 1944 revolution. Socialism has established profound roots among the Bulgarian people. As a result of the past changes, a considerable industrial base was built compared to our country's size, and a modern agricultural production was established. Poverty and illitercy were eliminated, an effective mass health- care system was established, and remarkable cultural progress was achieved. The country was rescued from political isolation. It established diplomatic and trade relations with over 100 countries of all continents. The alliances that it joined guaranteed Bulgaria an unprecedented international security that the country has never experienced throughout its 1,000 years of existence.

Critical situations such as the current one are likely to affect the life of any society whatsoever. Under such cirucmstances it is of decisive importance that this society should act as an open system and implement a synthesis of elements borrowed from other, more advanced and effective systems for the purpose of overcoming the crisis. In the era of growing sociocultural interdependence, this is the only correct means of coping with the most urgent problems.

Let us examine the question of the party's responsibility:

As to the party's views on its own responsbilities and duties, our answer is unmistakable: The elimination of Todor Zhivkov's regime that was implemented under exceptionally difficult conditions and under the full observance of the statute norms and constitutional procedures was an expression of our own sense of responsibility and duty. To the credit of the BCP, it is necessary to point out that the struggle against Todor Zhivkov's authoritarian regime did not begin in 1989, but was waged throughout the period of this regime. This struggle, precisely, forced the regime to search for real solutions to the urgent, crucial problems. It forced the regime to give up some of its megalomaniac ideas and concepts. It is a well-known fact that many Communists had to pay dearly for their principled and manly courage. The great truth is that the clique around the former general secretary, when it saw its positions threatened, weas ready to attack those whom it considered its enemies with the most brutal methods of terror. The members of the clique may have succeeded had they not been resolutely stopped in time by the principled and active positions of the healthy forces within the party leadership.

Those BCP leaders who directly faced the risk of confrontation with the authoritarian regime, and our entire party, and the patriotic public, which was clearly aware of the corruption and backwardness of the Zhivkov system and refused to support it, have earned credit for this. We are all aware that various social forces and honest citizens actively opposed the system, and we will duly pay tribute to them.

The awareness of responsibility requires that the past should be truthfully analyzed to draw the necessary conclusions. By clearly stating its responsibility, our party is obliged to devote all its efforts to the prevention of relapses into authoritarian power, to the prevention of canonizing individual ideological views and postulates. Such a guarantee requires the establishment of democratic mechanisms within the party and society that should virtually exclude such possibilities. In the first place and above all, we must establish a new, democratic political system that should promote not the most convenient, but the most talented and authoritative party, state, and public figures and leaders.

The plenum held on 10 November 1989 was an event in the party's life whose importance will be duly appreciated only from this point forward. The period of just over two months that has elapsed since is rather short, but within that period a process began that is irresistibly gathering momentun and that can already be defined as irrerversible.

Comrades, we are living in a truly unprecedented atmosphere today. We are facing a genuinely unprecedented politization of social awareness, a real liberation of thoughts, a mass involvement of all broad stata of the people in active, poltical life. The most varied sociopolitical forces have emerged on the scene. Never in Bulgarian history were so many different and diversified opinions expressed as freely as today. Social discussions have never been as heated as today.

The BCP will try to conform with the high standards of polticial life. Dozens of functionaries were removed from the Politburo, from the BCP Central Committee, and from the leading party and state echelons. These people preferred to mind their selfish interests rather than devoting themselves to the interests of the party. As many as five BCP Central Committee plenums were held at which important decisions were adopted. The plenum held on 11-13 December 1989, in particular, mapped out an extensive program for dismantling the command-bureaucratic system, and this program is in full swing. The plenum held on 29 December most categorically confirmed the constitutional rights and liberties of all citizens, as a result of which it became possible to overcome the abuses on the nationality question and to establish conditions for the development of a scientifically founded, principled, and lasting national policy. The national roundtable discussions opened during the period under review. These debates represent a dialogue of all social forces. At the initiative of the BCP, crucial legislative changes were proposed to the National Assembly that should essentially guarantee the development of a civic society and of a law-governed state. We are expecting important reforms in virtually all spheres of our social life and they should rescue Bulgaria from the situation of crisis. We should point out that the majority of initiatives for reforms, in which all our public is duly participating, were actually adopted by the party.

The other sociopolitical forces also launched a number of ideas aimed at restructuring, ideas that we as a serious party took into consideration, and we began to implement them in cooperation with our partners.

In view of all this—what exactly is the issue of the nationwide discussion, what are the possible methods through which we should try to overcome the current crisis?

Let us just mention the most essential trends.

Certain new political forces are proposing an immediate "dismantling" of the currently existing structures, the elimination of the existing institutions, and the resignation of the political and state organs; they demand that we should renounce socialism and introduce private ownership in the economic sector, and, as some of their ideologists like to express themselves, they request the restoration of the so-called "democratic capitalism."

On the other hand, certain economic and party circles, and a considerable majority of our citizens today support another idea, namely that we should proceed in a pragmatic manner, and, through stabilization measures—especially by tightening our belts in the first place—we should somehow mend the situation in one or another sphere. They urge us to consolidate party and state discipline, and "firmly and consistently" to implement all state and party decisions, to restore law and order in our own house so as to become masters of the situation again. Nevertheless, how should our people follow such a platform after they have heard enough promises and after being disappointed with palliative solutions?

No, comrades, it is our profound conviction that only a revolutionary renewal of our comprehensive social and political system, based on socialism as an objective reality the existence of which does not depend upon the will of one, or another poltical forces, which are currently exercising the power, or are striving for it, can guarantee a reliable future. The future belongs to a democratic society, based on plurality of interests, to a society united by patriotic citizens who are inspired by their sense of responsibility for the country's future and for our future generations.

Under the present circumstances there is only one party, namely our party, that can lead Bulgaria along this path. This is not only a political statement. The BCP is the largest and most efficeintly organized mass political force in the country, it has the greatest prestige among the people. It possesses the most numerous and highly qualified cadre potential. The BCP has a platform, it has the will and capacity to transform society. After 10 November 1989, the People's Republic of Bulgarian embarked upon an original path of national renewal that was initiated by the BCP. Last, but not least, no other political force in our country is as closely linked to the working masses as the BCP has been throughout its entire existence.

In order to cope successfully with this historical task, the party should entirely renew itself. It should be capable of simultaneously borrowing strength from the original source of our revolutionary theory and of developing and conducting a policy that conforms to the needs of the present and future stage of development.

I. The Party's Renewal is the Chief Task

Comrades, we are facing the alternative of either renewing the party or facing its weakening and defeat.

In this context, the current 14th Congress has a historical responsibility. All Communists in the country from all generations and at all levels of the party are urged to understand that any underestimation or delay of the processes related to the party's renewal and its transformation into a new type of modern Marxist party is likely to induce undesirable consequences, such as those the communist parties of certain other socialist countries were subjected to.

Regardless of some people's opinions, all people in our country should be aware that the Communist Party is the most numerous and most active force in Bulgaria's political life. It is logical that the party's internal instability would not only intensify the crisis within the party, but also the nationwide crisis. Bulgaria's peaceful future depends upon this congress, upon our BCP Congress.

Comrades, our party woke up from its lethargic sleep. The party members have never been as frank with each other in their thoughts and behavior as they are today. The striving for democracy released the party members from the unanimous actions prompted by the fear of being disciplined and gave them the chance of realizing the truth about themselves and about the party. This truth, however, is a bitter truth.

The party members were involved in a confidence crisis, in the confidence crisis of rank-and-file members in relations with their leading organs, and a confidence crisis related to their own capacity for renewal.

They were involved in a confidence crisis related to the party's organizational structure and to its effective functioning in inner-party life.

The party is disturbed, but it has not lost its self-confidence. Loyal to its social mission, the party is transforming itself before our eyes. This was confirmed by the draft Manifesto and draft Statute that were published. The pre-congressional accountability-election conferences of the basic and municipal party organizations were a step in this direction. Only a party that is firmly resolved to conduct society toward a democratic and humane socialism can analyze and denounce its past in such a categorical manner and courageous look at its future.

One specific hope illuminates internal party life and inspires all of us. This hope and will are identical with our thirst for democracy. This thirst for democracy divides the Communists according to their conscience today, it promotes new ideas and currents, it poses new ideas against those of the past. This aspiration is the source of a new situation within the party, it prompted the dispute between those who cannot or are unwilling to change and those who are searching for a change. Courageous stands and independent positions have emerged within the party as a result of this dispute.

We should point out that the party's renewal has already started along with the decisions of the party plenums after 10 November 1989 and during the pre-congressional accountability-election campaign. This campaign proceeded in a dynamic, difficult, and controversial atmosphere. Such a stormy, active, and offensive accountabiliy-election campaign has hardly ever been conducted in our party's history. No one was indifferent, no party members stood aside in this campaign. We can say with sincere satisfaction to this congress that the support and approval for the party line on a radical reform of its policy and its ideas was the characteristic feature of the pre-congressional discussions conducted in the primary party organizations and at municipal party conferences.

Regardless of the lack of time, a great majority of municipal conferences were capable of implementing their task to a considerable extent. The task was that the conferences should be prepared in a new manner and proceed in an atmosphere of true democracy. The new requirements related to the electability of leading organs and of congressional delegates genuinely inspired the majority of Communists with enthusiasm and highly intensified their activities. The sharpest edge of criticism was directed against the present method and style of work of party bureaus, cadres, and the appartus of the municipal BCP committees, against cases of corruption and abuse of official posts, against the inability to respond to the rapidly changing political atmosphere. Particularly sharp critical remarks were made about the slow pace in resolving numerous urgent problems in the socioeconomic and cultural spheres that had been postponed for several years.

Criticism against the BCP Central Committee Politburo and its Secretariat was voiced at some local party conferences. To summarize the criticism, we can say that it was mainly addressed against the sluggishness in connection with implementing the changes, and especially in connection with purging from the party elements who have disgraced themselves. The passivity that produced an information and ideological vacuum, providing opportunities for certain circles for unjustified attacks against the party as a whole, was subject to particular criticism.

We should point out, along with this, that serious shortcomings also chracterized numerous meetings of the primary party organizations and conferences. One of them was the insufficient self-criticism and the unwillingness, or inability, of some local cadres to assess their own personal contribution and their own responisibiity related to shortcomings and to delays in restructuring.

The accountability-election campaign accomplished a step forward in connection with the implementation of one of the most important requirements for the party's democratization, namely the renewal of party organs. Nearly half of the secretaries of basic party organizations were newly elected. This percentage was particularly high in Plovdiv Oblast (60 percent) and in the city of Sofia.

Considerable changes occurred in the composition of the municipal party committees. The renewal of their members amounted to 62 percent, while half of all 273 first secretaries are newly elected. At certain accountability-election conferences in Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, and other places, the election of party leaderships was postponed until after the congress. The purpose is to promote well-trained and educated party leaders with high moral standards.

The renewal of the congressional delegates is also considerable. Over 86 percent of the delegates present in this hall are attending a party congress for the first time. It is a characteristic feature that 44 percent of the delegates are directly engaged in material production, while the share of the engineering-technical intelligentsia is aproximately four percent, and 25 percent of the delegates are representatives of economic circles. This permits us to conclude that the Communists have sent new people to this congress, people who, with their stands and deeds, expressed their capability of defending a reformist policy, a policy that our party and society require today. The fact that many of the elected delegates are economic figures and members of the engineering-technical intelligentisa shows that not only the Communists, but the majority of the people, are confident that the party is capable of mapping out its active economic policy and of playing its leading role in rescuing the country from the economic and social crisis.

The aforementioned results justify our confidence that we at the congress will actively, constructively, and creatively pursue the initiated discussion on the renewal of our party and society.

The present congress and the documents it will adopt do not intend to resolve all problems of the party's renewal but only to draw a guideline, to speed up the renewal in a purpose-oriented manner, and to transform this renewal into a permanent process of creativity and self-development. In this context, we think that we should more thoroughly dwell on certain basic factors related in the party's future.

Toward Renewed Ideological-Theoretical Foundations

Comrades, we Marxists have always been known for our profound interest in ideas. Marxism is the work of thinkers, the work of creative personalities. Throughout its century-old history, our party has produced splendid models of creative thinking. It has created very interesting and sometimes very advanced theories on the construction of a progressive society, such as socialism.

Unfortunately, our present theoretical views on the party and society are permeated by one-sidedness, dogmatism, and pedantry. Considering our present ideological-theoretical methods, we are incapable of reacting to the new phenomena and of meeting the challenge of the contemporary world, we are incapable of correctly interpreting the nature and interaction of social forces and of selecting the correct guidelines and methods of works.

The Stalinist "model" of development of the Marixst theory is the main cause of this state of affairs. Instead of promoting a community of creative thinkers—people of like minds, this Stalinist model created an army of heralds of the dogmas whose authors were the "great leader" and his followers. Instead of scientific thought emerging in an atmosphere of struggle and doubts, it created a kingdom of nonsense, a freezing void, and spiritual hollowness. The most tragic fact is that for over 65 years Marxism in the countries of socialism was imprisoned by the chains of a new inquisition. Our theory had its martyrs who defended the scientifc truth even at the cost of their lives. However, a sufficient number of people in this society were ready to replace their theoretical talents with the stagnating delusions of opportunistic considerations.

The party is facing a new challenge today. If the world has changed—and who could contest this fact—the ideals that are guiding us should be new ones, they should be fresh ideals, responding to the requirements of historical development. This is a question of decisive importance for the party's future and for the future of the socialist idea and practical experience in Bulgaria.

Thus, what are the new ideological-theoretical foundations of the future party? Where should we borrow the ideas, expected to be our ideological sources? What are our own discoveries and theoretical concepts?

First of all, it is our categorical conclusion that the ideological-theoretical renewal of the party should be implemented on the basis of Marxism. The Manifsto and the draft Statute declare that we are and will be a Marixst party that is inspired by all ever-lasting and valuable assets created by the socialist and communist movement in the world, inspired by the ideas and cause of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Blagoev, Dimitrov, and other great exponents of our teaching.

Our loyalty to the ideas, values, and ideals of scientific socialism should be expressed in their creative development on the basis of the accumulated experience and on the basis of the achievements of science, culture, and civilization. It is high time for us to renounce the sectarian and unjustified claims for ideological-theoretical exclusiveness and messianic mission. We, Communists, are not and cannot be the only exponents of progress and renewal of society. This obliges us to "open up" to the rich experience and theoretical achievements of the social-democratic theoreticians and politicians who actively contributed to the progress of Marxism under the conditions of a highly productive and democratic society in the 20th century.

In the second place, the party must take reality into consideration. Nothing can be better for a political party than to aspire for power in the name of the well-being of man. It must be familiar with man's life and his environment. It is precisely in this aspect that we are really lagging behind. Let us admit it. We even failed in this area. A new world of highly productive technologies, modern communications means, social and demographic mobility, and new cultural, and artistic currents, and possibilities developed around us. This reflected itself only a little or not at all in our ideological-theoretical concept of the world. If we made certain attempts, they were mostly aimed at justifying certain utilitarian goals, and to find new words and concepts for asserting the old dogmas. We must now resolutely reject this method. We definitely need ideas that function not tomorrow but here and now.

The new approach obliges us to admit the existence of pluralism in economics, politics and culture, and to be guided in our practical activity by the objective diversity of phenomena, processes, personalities, and group interests. Our own experience shows that oppressing differences equals stagnation and ideological annihiliation. For this reason, relinquishing the quotation mania and disregard for the thought of other socialist theoreticians and leaders, the opening toward the wealth of life are urgent tasks that must be implemented if we are to renew the party.

It follows that our renewed ideological-theoretical foundation will be based on two basic elements: on the ideological heritage of Marxism and the other progressive leftist movements, and on the study and theoretical analysis of the social practice that is in constant flux. As a result, we must have and will have the correct ideological reference points for renewal. These must be not only theoretically rich but also practically effective. Only by combining what we know with the new elements will we be able to win over the mind and heart of the modern man for the cause of humane, democratic, and socialist Bulgaria.

The essence of our real vision of what the beginning of the construction of the renewed ideological-theoretical basis must be was reflected in the Manifesto. You are all familiar with this document. However, it is only a draft. Nothing has been decided a priori. You, the congressional delegates, are expected to provide new ideas and proposals that you will present on behalf of your voters. We must demonstrate activity and culture and make the first political document of our party an even more powerful and correct one. However, we must also understand that our great efforts are only about to begin. We must construct a competitive and fruitful socialist model with which we must express our sharp political struggles.

This process, comrades, will be ongoing. Furthermore, it must never stop. We do not need complete theories, we do not need new, "great" and "brilliant" ideas that in the final analysis end up as dogmas and delusions. The guarantee of forward movement is in the constant creativity of you all, the people of the party, and its theoreticians, of all intelligent minds who are willing to contribute to the implementation of the socialist idea in Bulgaria.

The great cause of socialism must be reflected in our political course along with all valuable achievements of human civilization. Only thus will we be able to develop a working and progressive ideological activity on a democratic basis and move the entire society forward.

There is even more: The new concepts and ideas do not mark the beginning of a new campaign. The process of party education and training should be radically reformed. Instead of the outdated, and as we see, useless methods of agitation and propaganda under which some people seem to know everything and instruct the others, we will proceed to a method of mutual creative exchange of ideas for the construction of socialism in our country, as is the custom in every developed society. Only the democratization of ideological creative work within the party on the launching and discussion of every idea, even if it should sound heretical, is capable of making our thoughts more dynamic and of stimulating each of our comrades to make his choice related to the the methods and the real construction of democratic socialism in our society.

Concerning a Contemporary, Democratic Party Organization and Activity

Comrades, the construction of a new organizational structure and a new method for its functioning are preconditions for totally renewing the party.

First of all we must carry out a complete and final de-Stalinization. We must eliminate the distortions that we inherited in the practice and organization of our internal party life. The present organizational structure has already decayed. From being a means of giving purpose to party life and activity at a given stage, the party structure became an end in itself, an instrument that served the autocratic regime first of all.

It is necessary for us to review the principle of party structure, considering democratic centralism as inappropriate for modern democratic goals and the image of the party as a party of all the people that is being created. By relinquishing this principle, we will be able to successfully dismantle the command-administrative organizational structure of the party, thus making the party an attractive social center of patriotic and progressive activity in our country.

The lessons of practical experience require a new postulate on the issue of the relationship between the majority and minority within the party. Here there is something we must clarify. In recent years, there were cases in which, by adopting decisions by an ostensible majority, a minority used to impose its will and power on the majority. Today, it is a question of renouncing the principle of majority rule, which until now did not testify to the party's unity but artificially concealed a split in the party. In a truly democratic party, decisions are not, as a rule, adopted simply by voting and by oppressing the weaker part, but by discussion, by persuasion and consensus. There can be no doubt that if the party is to work effectively and be a united organization, the minority must not serve as an obstacle to common action adopted on the basis of decisions adopted by the principle of the majority. At the same time, the minority has every right to defend its position with the assistance of the party press and through the mass media. It can seek the support of party opinion and prove the correctness of its position.

We propose the principle of democratic unity, based on pluralism of ideas and ideological trends, alternative variants in preparing decisions, democratic elections and the principle of a limited term for leading organs, the adoption of party decisions by majority, and the party's ability to actively implement decisions that have been adopted. We proposed this principle in the draft of the new party statute. It implements the idea of self-organization and self- management of the Communists in the primary organizations. We relinquish the idea of constructing relations exclusively on the basis of the vertical principle and only through the party committees. As a democratic party, we attach greater importance to establishing horizontal links between members and organizations. This presupposes the possibility of self-organization according to ideological trends, platforms, and associations, within the framework of the Manifesto and the BCP Statute, while preserving the party's organizational unity.

Let the principles of the party statutes, comrades, become an important means of overcoming the administrative-command character of the party structure. Through them we shall expand and strengthen the independence [samostoyatelnosta] of the Communists and the primary party organizations. We are constructing an organizational unity based on self-organization and self-discipline, as well as on ideological conviction based on one single platform, formed along the road of ideological and creative pluralism.

The principle of democratic unity will help us to part with the harmful heritage of "monolithic" unity around a single "line," to which we had become used to because it was convenient. The alternative trends, platforms, and so forth, which are emerging in the very building of our party headquarters, are introducing a fresh spirit in seeking the truth, and they express different points of view. At the moment, everything is boiling, and the initial confusion produced by this phenomenon is being increasingly replaced by the understanding for the usefulness of contrasting opinions, of the pluralism of ideas, and of a diversified approaches and actions.

All this is of exceptional value for our party. It will enrich its political culture and will elevate it to a higher place as a social and intellectual force, and will attract a much wider strata of the Bulgarian people to itself.

Decentralization is another important tendency in democratizing internal party life and activity. A significant part of party work will be implemented by the primary and lower units of the party. Now as never before, the party needs powerful and autonomous party organizations that are flexible in anything related to their structure and approach. The proposal to disband the primary party organizations at workplaces generated one of the most heated debates during the accountability-election campaign. Many Communists think by doing this we will destroy the power of relations between the Communists of like mind because they are now united not only by a common ideological basis, but also by common goals and interests in the sphere of their profession. We think that this problem has a great importance for party construction. It would be most correct to resolve it by conducting a referendum among all Communists and all working people, while taking into consideration the real existing political and social factors, including the future Law on Parties.

The necessity of creating a new type of relations between lower and higher party organs and organizations now acquires great importance. This is connected with replacing the single-direction (from the top to the bottom), purely formal, and command-administrative relations with democratic relations. The essential factor is to separate the legislative, executive, and control functions in the party. This can be achieved by strengthening the role of the financial-auditing commissions and the commissions on party ethics by giving them the right of control in relation to all Communists and all party organs. We must develop democratic mechanisms that will create guarantees for not violating the mutual relations between the various types of party organs and organizations—higher, leading, executive-coordinating, auxiliary, control, and so forth. It is also necessary to work out an appropriate mechanism of recalling [otzovavane] the members of leading party organs and revoking the plenary powers of delegates who have lost the confidence of the party members.

It is of exceptional importance for the democratization of party activity to conduct such activity in a new manner, with a new style, and with new methods. The traditional class-party approach in the assessment of phenomena and in directing party activity has exhausted its possibilities under modern conditions. The party cannot determine the fate of the state, society, and its own members on the basis of the decisions of its plenums, meetings, and congresses. It must implement its policy and program first of all through the activity of the Communists at their places of work and residences. Conducting dialogue and discussion and reaching consensus must become our basic principle and style.

This style and method of work is impossible without studying, analyzing, and respecting the party and public opinion. This means that the party must base itself on the opinion of the Communists and all citizens, fully utilize the assessment and wisdom of the people and their everyday life and political experience, and always be aware of what problems arise in the collectives and among the population, and what ideas and proposals are made by them. Therefore, it is necessary to construct a new system of providing information about party activity. The party archives and current documents must be opened, and free access to them must be ensured. Glasnost, broad and total glasnost of party decisions and actions, is as necessary as oxygen for the yearnings and aspirations of the party masses; the same applies to the personal qualities and conduct of the leading cadres. The party has nothing that must be concealed from the people. It is a part of the people's own flesh.

Man in the Party

Comrades, by democratizing the party we understand the practical implementation of the basic principle that all party power stems from and belongs to its members or their representatives, who are under comprehensive and active control.

Directly facing man in his ranks is one of the basic features of party renewal, and this applies both to rank-and-file Communists and party functionaries. The party must again acquire a "human image." Returning to the people is our lofty goal and responsibility.

Now the party has 983,899 members, united in 31,150 primary party organizations. Different tendencies, with their own criteria and approaches, have emerged in them. There are reformers, longing for rapid and radical renewal; those who want nothing to change because their personal interests will be affected; and those who also want nothing to change because they have so closely merged with the existing stereotype of life that the destruction of this stereotype will leave them in a spiritual vacuum and a state of fear. The third group is those who hesitate, doubt, and wait to see. We must separately distinguish those who both in the past and now have honestly and selflessly worked for Bulgaria's well-being (they include a significant part of party workers on the payroll). There are also such members of the BCP that, by their actions and abuses, have stained not only themselves, but also the name of the party (in this group, the chameleons are most dangerous both for the party and society—those who adapt themselves to restructuring and are in the first line of the struggle for power within the party). There also are such party members who have joined it because of impure and selfish motives and are now hastening to abandon it.

The party must find an approach and a human word for all these trends, help some, and at the same time be firm and irreconcilable toward others.

The issue of the party's social basis is primarily related to this problem. It is clear that it can renew itself only with the participation of all social strata and generations—from the revolutionary generation to the youngest one.

A future modern party of democratic socialism must become a party of the working strata of all the people, a party of workers and peasants, of representatives of the scientific, cultural, engineering-technical intelligentsia, and of all others who share its goals and platform. Only a party with such a social composition can win the future because thus we will guarantee the alliance of labor and intellect of which Marx dreamed, and this under modern conditions. Each of these strata must find its worthy place in the party structure and life, implement its creative potential, and satisfy its real interests.

Comrades, we must devote proper attention to the two generations of the party that are at the two ends of the age spectrum.

We will also rely on the experience and support of the veterans of the revolution and of labor. The overwhelming proportion of these veterans have traveled their road in a worthy manner. Now they are finding things very difficult, because the whole of their lives has been linked with this party, from whose errors and illusions we are now distancing ourselves. To our great chagrin and regret, many of their ideals were crushed and distorted. However, albeit painfully, our revolutionary generation must understand and support precisely the revolutionary and profound renewal of the party, including perhaps even the need of changing its name. Without this renewal, the ideal to which many party members have devoted their life and work faces the danger of completely disappearing from our political scene. Those who criticize renewal and are dissatisfied with it must realize that the party does not retreat from its positions, but is convincingly conducting the measures outlined for restoring and renewing the socialist ideal under modern conditions.

The youth is the other generation I want to talk about. Without the fresh political blood of the younger generation, the party has no future. This imposes even more the necessity of returning to one of the most valuable Blagoev-Dimitrov traditions—the care for the development of every young party member. Now the youth's courage, fighting spirit, professional training, competence, and moral purity are paticularly needed by the party. The youth must be given a "green light" for expressing and establishing themselves. It is especially important for the party here, at the congress, for the young generation to begin to believe in the party's new course and obtain a vote of confidence by having young people elected to the higher party organs.

Comrades, the necessity of working out a new ethical model for work in the party acquires priority. This must be a model of relations based on the highest human virtues and values. Only a morally and ethically purified party can restore both the confidence of the people and the confidence of its members. Conducting an uncompromising struggle against corruption of certain party members,—most of all among the leading circles, against the abuse of official positions, and against illegality and injustice is the most secure road for overcoming this crisis of confidence. The party must immediately and without hesitation disassociate itself from people who have stained or are staining its name.

A plenum of the BCP Central Committee has already expelled Todor Zhivkov, Milko Balev, and Vladimir Zhivkov. In our party there is also no place for Grisha Filipov, Yaroslav Radev, Atanas Maleev, Nikola Stefanov, Georgi Dzhagarov, Mircho Spasov, Dimitur Naydenov, Vasil Tsanov Vasilev, Stamo Kerezov, Emil Khristov, Petko Danchev, Veselin Yosifov, Khristo Ruskov, Angel Tsanev, and others, whose careers, titles, privileges, and life were built upon violating the laws and morality and crushing human destinies and ideals. As long as these people continue to be party members, we have no right to say that we are a new, purified, reborn, and restored party.

Comrades, it is clear that the purification of the party cannot take place only from the top. We desperate need the decisive and bold position and actions of all party organizations and committees. We must firmly and categorically declare that the party is ridding itself of those who have stained its name; however, to its honest and sincere members the party will continue in the future to be always careful and attentive.

It is also necessary that we firmly declare that, in purifying itself, the BCP will never allow forces outside it to create the atmosphere of a "witch hunt" in the party ranks.

Renewing the party and making it face the people are processes that are directly related to the issue of its cadres. Our cadre policy must be made to agree with the party's new character and goals. The present model of the cadre policy reproduces the administrative-command style of leadership and interference in social life.

The party functionaries are subjected to the most powerful winds of the democratic renewal in Bulgaria. This applies first of all to the payroll members of the party organs. In the party apparatus, as we are used to calling it, there also are opponents of the renewal. However, there also are many who adhere to renewal. In the whole of our society, we must differentiate the party apparatus on the basis of one principle only, namely who supports renewal, not merely as a banner, but as an idea, a position, as honesty and sincerity, as a cause in this work, and who is against.

Comrades, we are totally and finally relinquishing the insolvent claims of exclusivity of the party cadres. We are not made of some special material, as some used to say, but are ordinary people.

Repealing the constitutional confirmation of the role of the party in society is for us simultaneously also an act of relinquishing all forms of privileges enjoyed by the party members and figures vis-a-vis the citizens of our country. We need now ordinary human decency and high morality.

Our determination to part forever with the nomenklatura system acquires priority now. This is not a system that can provide the cadres that the party needs now, regardless of the fact that this position could affect many of us because this system is not only one of the products, but also one of the attributes of the command-type of party. The cadre crisis in the party, which was created precisely with the "assistance" of the nomenklatura as a system, is one of the worst legacies of Todor Zhivkov's one-man regime. With its negative qualities—monopolism, secretiveness, abuses, and manipulations, the nomenklatura system corrupted and destroyed many cadres, because it taught them to look only upward, to the leader, and to be convinced that no matter how many mistakes they made, and even if they were incompetent, as long as they were in the nomenklatura there would always be a place for them in the leading elite, while their salaries and privileges were preserved.

This harmful system, at the present moment that is so important for our development when we have no time to waste, makes us face new failures and new mistakes in cadre policy because the nomenklatura is a list of a limited number of people and because the leadership is isolated from life and the local collectives, it actually "rotates" one and the same people, because they are on this list.

Although these may be individual cases, we must admit that such mistakes also were allowed after 10 November. For example, such a mistake was the promotion of Comrade Petko Danev to candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the BCP Varna Oblast Committee. Later on he was not even elected by the Varna Communists as a delegate to the congress.

The fundamental side of the issue lies in the fact that a revolutionary change is needed in the very premise of the cadre issue. Every party, every social system needs and will need its own professional functionaries, payroll apparatus, and highly qualified experts and assistants.

However, we need a system for the normal growth of the cadres in the collectives, where the natural leaders at the various levels of our entire life emerge. We must turn toward the real processes—economic, political, cultural, and others—in which people are being formed who are capable of serving the country under the complex contemporary domestic and international conditions.

It is our aim to make the selection of cadres public, competitive, and under the control of everyone, of the people. The law of social selection is active in the democratic society toward which we aspire. It gives a green light to the capable and energetic ones, to those who have won authority and recognition, and who have asserted themselves in practical work. Only in this way can we form the cadre potential in the party and the country from people who are active, who have initiative, and who are closely connected with the working people and the population, ideologically convinced, active, democratically thinking, and professionally trained to a high degree.

We would like to point out that many of the present payroll party workers will find their place in this cadre selection process because they meet the new requirements and criteria.

The payroll party workers must be reduced to the optimum minimum numbers. It may be correct to set a precisely determined value for their numbers, but the main thing is to reinforce the public principle in our activity.

The process of cadre renewal in the party has begun with the accountability-election campaign. This process will continue both at the congress and after it. However, it is necessary to understand that the pace of this process at the moment is unsatisfactory. Events are frequently outpacing our reactions. Let us firmly take the fate of the party in our hands, and let us control time and not let them control us.

The fundamental principle of creating guarantees and mechanisms for preventing the reemergence of autocratic power in the party is of especially great importance for us.

The rapid building of the new structures and attributes of democratic society and the profound and comprehensive renewal and democratization of the party itself are the primary guarantees for this.

The new mechanisms for interrelations between the Communists and the primary party organizations, and between the latter and the party committees standing above them, also provide guarantees. The mandate principle, the formation of an alternative basis through direct and secret elections of the leading organs of the party, and the possibility of glasnost and control over the activity of every Communist and party forum are also guarantees.

These guarantees must be incorporated in the new BCP Statute.

The congress must adopt the statute that is not only democratic, but also clear and categorical so that it becomes a basis and landmark for accelerating the renewal. It should not be necessary for it to be supplemented with instructions that may give rise to disagreements and hesitation among part of the Communists and the primary party organizations, and permit distortions in party work.

The Party's International Relations. The Party and the World Progressive Left.

Comrades, every educated inhabitant of this planet knows that the socialist idea is an integral part of the all-European intellectual, cultural, and historical development. It has never been isolated within a single state. This can happen even less so today, when the world is so open and mutually dependent. Our party has been, is now, and will be an organic part of the great socialist movement. However, now the moment has come to reassess our place in this development, a moment to find the common and specific national and international features as we follow new criteria.

By adopting a new ideological-theoretical orientation and beginning to conduct a political struggle by new mechanisms, we are "opening up" the party to a broad spectrum of leftist parties and movements in Europe and the world. Our new theoretical concepts and practical approaches allow us to establish contacts and to work together with many new partners.

Why has this possibility arisen? It is because we are renouncing everything that is old and archaic, because we categorically do not want to appear backward in the field of contemporary intellectual and political culture. We will become an effective Marxist party that wants and is able to construct democratic socialism in Bulgaria. We cannot allow ourselves, as it were, to look through the window at what history is doing in the street. We want to be in the front ranks of human progress. Therefore, we need friends and people of like mind, we need partners and allies. Not a single party or country can hope to find alone the road for developing its society, let alone the road for society's well-being and intellectual ascent.

It is clear to everyone today that there is no "reserved" place for our party in the community of the communist and socialist parties. Everything is changing virtually daily. New parties are emerging, the old parties are being reorganized or are even dying. Even the unification of parties from two states is no longer a hypothesis, but a reality. In this situation of incredibly rapid changes, our party must be ready every day and every hour for new situations, contacts, and partners. Such is the reality and such are the dialectics of development.

We shall continue to work with the existing communist parties. We shall not pull back even from those who call us "revisionists" or other names according to the manner familiar in the past. We are prepared to talk in a calm and well-founded manner with each of those who are ready to do so. We want to discuss the common problems and difficulties and inform one another on how we see things differently and where we do not agree. Only through civilized international political dialogue will we achieve sound internationalism and solidarity in the name of the common socialist goal.

Already confirmed is the BCP's historical alliance with the CPSU. This alliance gives us confidence and strength because we have comrades in arms with the experience of a 72-year-long struggle for socialism. The most progressive phenomenon in the practice of Marxism today—"perestroyka"—appeared in the bosom of Soviet scientific thought. It caused the renewal of socialism throughout the world. We are learning from the long Soviet experience in this respect, and naturally we are taking into consideration our specific conditions. Let me stress again: The alliance with the CPSU is of fateful value for us, and therefore, in these difficult and decisive days, we wish the Soviet comrades new successes in perestroyka from the bottom of our hearts.

We naturally do not begin from scratch in this process of seeking a new place in the world system of the progressive left. Our party has old and firm traditions of cooperation with many communist and workers' parties, many socialist and social democratic parties, and certain newly emerged democratic and progressive parties and movements, such as the "Greens," for example. However, this is no longer enough. This does not correspond with the new real correlation of the political forces in the world and the new requirements of human progress.

Our party, renewed by its new ideas and practices, can fruitfully participate in all those organizational and united structures of the world socialist left that are well known for the scope of their activity and the scale of their influence. I mean active relations and cooperation with the Socialist International and contacts with other leftist alliances and forums. I mean a completely new stage in the party's international activity, its main characteristic being a common struggle for asserting democratism, humanism, socialism, and progress throughout the world.

Those considerations certainly are rather unusual for many comrades. We know that many of them will not easily accept not only the common actions but even the talks with the representative of those parties that until a short time ago some called "social revisionists," and in the more distant past even "social-fascists." However, as appropriate for real Marxists, let us look the truth in the eyes. The modern left has accumulated a rich experience that our party could really utilize. This creates conditions of intensifying cooperation, especially with the European social democrats, on the basis of universal values.

II.

Comrades, the party has no future if it does not take into consideration the everyday needs and troubles of the simple citizens. Those needs represent the main contents of its policy. It is obvious that their implementation requires an efficient, modern, and stable economy. What is the situation in our country? In the report to the plenum of 11 December 1989, we pointed out the exceptionally grave situation of the Bulgarian economy. We pointed out the causes and analyzed the problem of personal responsibility Unfortunately, no essential change for the better is yet evident. Furthermore, we witness a tendency of decreasing production, which threatens our economic development. The danger of disintegration of our economic relations is very real. Many industrial and agricultural branches are functioning far below their production capacities. The uneven supply of materials, energy, the lack of plan indices, and unsigned contracts with consumers and suppliers are pointed out as the causes of this situation. We also think that the chaotic situation in many enterprises also is one of the main causes. In those enterprises, the production activity has been replaced by the stormy passions of the economic and political struggle.

The government is also guilty of the present economic situation. At the same time, it would be unjust if we omit to point out that all those forces that decided that the easiest way of acquiring authority is to press the government against the wall with actions that push the country toward an economic catastrophe have also contributed to the deterioration of the economic situation. We cannot but mention the inertia with which the party and its economic specialists reacted to the challenge of the economic crisis. Protracting and delaying the working out of a project of a radical economic reform and the plan of overcoming the crisis is a serious, very serious act. We accept the criticism addressed at us by many party organizations as well- founded. We suggest that the congress declare the tasks in this sphere to be priority tasks, while the party urges its economic specialists and its representatives in the government and the National Assembly to make most decisive efforts in this direction.

Concerning A New Economic and Social Policy

Comrades, we do not claim a monopoly in finding a way to overcome the economic crisis. Nevertheless, we think that the gravity of the situation requires united efforts, it requires a national consensus on the question of how to halt the future decline toward the economic disaster, and how to establish the foundations of a national economy, capable of guaranteeing material prosperity and social welfare for all Bulgarian citizens.

A program on overcoming the crisis and safeguarding the social interests of the working people, which on the basis of broad discussions and the approval of various sociopolitical forces should be implemented with nationwide consensus, is required in this respect.

Along with the establishment of such a program, we should initiate the implementation of a radical economic reform for the creation of a socially oriented model of market economy.

The main issue of a radical economic reform is the question of our approach to the market and to market economy. This is one of the issues that was most heavily burdened by dogmatic concepts and illusionary postulates. Practical life categorically disclaimed the essential anti-market concepts upon which the methods of economic management were built in Bulgaria and in the other socialist countries. National economies built on this basis proved relatively effective under the conditions of extensive growth, but they proved absolutely ineffective at the new stage of development in which mankind is involved today. These concepts can neither ensure competitiveness in relations with advanced producers on a worldwide scale, nor can they guarantee the accumulation of sufficient resources for solving the social problems in our countries.

However, not only the practical aspects of the question should be considered. From a theoretical point of view, we are obliged to state that the anti-market delusions are part of the utopic, theoretical concepts of authoritarian socialism. They represent the theoretical basis on which the total, centralized system of state power in the economic sector, with its distorted production relations, its stifling bureaucratic methods, and the excessively inflated role of the state, was established.

In the long run, this system became the economic basis of the entire administrative-bureaucratic superstructure of authoritarian socialism.

The lack of developed market relations in our national economy is one of the most crucial, if not the most crucial, obstacles for the real integration of the Bulgarian national economy in the worldwide economic system, without which we cannot expect a real social, economic, and scientific-technical progress.

All this requires the party to adopt an unmistakable and unequivocal stand on the market nature of the economy we intend to develop.

The present historic era cannot accept any other economy, or at least cannot produce a prosperous economy, as long as we do not resolutely adopt the stand of objective realities. This is not an ideological compromise. This is a conclusion that we, as Marxists, are obliged to draw.

The basic trends of a radical economic reform stem logically from this conclusion. The attitude toward property, and especially the establishment of equal rights for different forms of ownership, the selection of instruments for influencing the market, the concepts about the role of the state in economic life—these are the aforementioned basic trends. The categoric recognition of the market nature of our economy does not signify and cannot signify that we have adopted a capitalist trend of development. Market economy and market relations are not the monopoly of capitalism. Worldwide experience shows that even under the conditions of market economy it is possible to pursue a policy guaranteeing more social justice and the protection of the working people's interests.

It is precisely this coordination of market principles with the principles of social justice and social welfare that we consider as one of the main features of the socialist market model. The other characteristic of this model is the active role assigned to the state in regulating economic life, on a larget scale, to maintain the basic national economic proportions and to guide economic development in accordance with the chosen social, market, and technological priorities. This socially oriented model of market economy will include all forms of ownership on an equal basis. An important role is assigned to public property in this respect. This includes state property, municipal, cooperative, and mixed property. This role, however, can no longer be based on privileges provided by administrative methods, as was the case in the past. Under the present conditions, all forms of ownership must freely compete. Through this free competition each form of ownership may prove its real advantages, and the advantages can on be confirmed on the basis of lasting effectiveness and labor productivity in the long run.

We realize that transition to market economy is a difficult and even painful process that has its economic and social price. Debates on this subject are under way in our country. People are discussing the alternative approaches to this transition and to the question of whether we should adopt a gradual, or a drastic approach, which some people even define as shock therapy. Each method has its advantages and disadvantages. However, it is quite clear that the drastic transition requires a higher social price, which we, as a society, would be expected to pay within a relatively short period of time.

The selection of an alternative is of great importance for our entire nation. This decision is so important that it cannot be adopted by one, or by even several parties and social forces. It should be adopted following an objective and sober evaluation of the expected effects and social consequences, and it should be accepted by the people. Only a nationwide consensus on the basic trends of the economic reform and on the rates of speed and stages of its implementation can guarantee the implementation of this reform in an atmosphere of social peace and political stability. In order to achieve this consensus, we must clearly and unequivocally explain the alternative opportunities to the people and we should reach the final choice by applying all accessible forms of social dialogue and by consulting the people.

The party will adopt its final stand on the problems of economic reform only on this basis.

It is our conviction that the development of a concept on economic reform should take place in an atmosphere of total openness with the participation of the greatest possible number of competent experts and specialists, and after obligatory consultations with other East European countries who have embarked along the path of reforms. It is necessary to assess the worldwide achievements in this respect. Manifestations of pluralism may be encouraged in preparing the concept. The publication of two or three scientifically based alternative proposals on the economic reform should be submitted to detailed discussion at the National Assembly. A referendum on this issue could also be conducted.

We consider it necessary to state that industrialization, which is one of the undeniable achievements of our development, was attained at the expense of the agricultural sector. Unfortunately, this was the path we had to follow in accordance with the bureaucratic model of socialism. The process proved totally different from similar processes in developed countries, where considerable financial resources were focused on agriculture, while the increased labor productivity in this sector contributed to accumulating resources for the industrial branches.

On the basis of idolizing the so-called structure-determining industrial sector, agriculture was assigned a second-rate role in the Bulgarian economy. The results are evident: The Bulgarian rural areas were affected by migration and depopulated. Agriculture production constantly decreased. The shortage of agricultural goods shows that the model of the recent past was ineffective. In our opinion, the only method of overcoming this situation is to give the land to those who are cultivating it. The cooperative movement in our rural areas is based on long-standing traditions. We are convinced that it has a promising future, as long as the gross administrative-command methods and approach are eliminated. Let the decisions on the emergence of agricultural cooperatives and on the establishment of family farming groups be adopted by the farmers themselves. Increasing the share of investments in the agricultural sector means increasing the total amount of investments. As a result of the specific nature of agriculture, we may also envision long-term subsidies to solve the problem of food supplies and to establish a solid base for the rest of our economic sectors and for our exports. We may also consider searching for cooperation with leading agro-industrial companies in other countries in view of establishing production units that are capable of competing.

Naturally, the introduction of a socially oriented market economy should by no means be considered as a means of healing all social evils that accompanied the Bulgarian economy in the recent past. The implementation of a radical economic reform will be objectively connected with several difficulties because the national economy represents a major factor of inertia. We should not expect the introduction of market mechanisms to eliminate the negative trends in our national economy like a magic baton. We should not delay the establishment of market economy even for a moment while we continue to observe the requirements for a consistent, gradual, offensive, and uninterrupted approach. It shall presumably become necessary to determine a specific period of transition, during which elements of the former system of economic management and the structures of the newly created market economy are expected to coexist. The parallel existence of two types of structures may result in the emergence of certain conflicts that should be overcome not by relapses into administrative-command elements, not by relapses into the past, but only through progress. The situation of crisis that has affected our economy and the requirement of our integration with worldwide economy urgently and inevitably demand our transition to a market economy. We simply have no other alternative.

This is the reason why the party extends its hand to all those who cherish Bulgaria's future. The rescue of the Bulgarian economy from the crisis should be a common cause. No decrees, or instructions from the top, nor attempts to undermine discipline from the bottom should be allowed. No interruptions of the production process thorugh strikes and by understandable, but hardly feasible demands for higher wages, but patriotic efforts, joint collective actions inspired by a sense of responsibility are required at this stage. Let us do everything within our power in order to keep the economic ship floating. The course is clear. We should realize that we have no other alternative than to roll up our sleeves and keep rowing, all of us in the same direction, so that we may reach the rescuing shore of economic stability and prosperity together. If our ship should begin sinking, neither forces from abroad nor our own efforts would be able to rescue it without provoking social unrest and disasters.

Comrades, the construction of a fully effective economy as the party's goal is indissolubly linked to preserving the social achievements of the Bulgarian citizens and expanding their basic assets. As a party of the working people, of the alliance between workers and intellectuals, our party should also become a party of social welfare and social justice. No romantic delusions and promises about gardens of Eden in the distant future, but concentration on urgent topical demands, on humanity's present issues and problems are required today, and this should be the basic trend of our party's social policy.

Entirely devoted to humanity's needs, this policy should optimally reduce all disadvantages stemming from the transition to market economy. The party is in favor of consistently observing and applying the principles of social justice, in favor of consistently applying the policy of social welfare and of providing social assets for the socially weak strata in our country, such as those who are temporarily, or permanently incapacitated, and for children and adolescents, in particular. We support a differentiated approach to social problems and the democratization of social policy. Certain particularly crucial issues, such as problems in the sector of housing policy, health care, and improvement of the environment require immediate action. As for the housing policy, we should observe an equal economic and legal order for all forms of housing construction. We should radically change the methods of distributing housing units. It should become a really just distribution, while all attempts at evading legal methods should be eliminated. The housing needs of newlyweds and large families should be satisfied on a priority basis, and the construction resources should be focused on social construction needs, while real competition among building companies should be encouraged.

As for the health-care sector, it is high time to modernize and humanize medical care. Favorable conditions, including financial prerequisites, should be created in this respect for improving relations between health institutions and patients. Greater attention should be paid to preventive activities in the health sector and to the development of a healthy way of life.

We are particularly concerned about the ecological situation in our country. This is, precisely, why the party resolutely supports the improvement of environmental protection. We are in favor of cooperation among all social forces in developing and implementing an effective ecological policy. In this sector, we are ready immediately to cooperate with all formal and informal parties and social organizations. We are ready to conduct different forms of expert analyses and scientific research for the sole purpose of preserving the beauties and natural resources of our motherland.

Comrades, who should be authorized to initiate the implementation of a radical economic reforms, to ensure the social protection of Bulgarian citizens, and to guarantee social justice? There is no doubt that only a government of national consensus is capable of doing so. It should be established on a broad basis with the participation of all significant sociopolitical forces. We think that the establishment of such a government shall permit us to achieve progress in the following two directions: It will enable us to start with the implementation of the economic reform, and it will make it possible to establish a government capable of immediately engaging in one of its main tasks, namely the task of rescuing Bulgaria from the crisis.

For the sake of this noble goal, let us relinquish all petty political passions and skirmishes. Bulgaria has its own historic chance that should not be missed.

For a Law-Governed State, Civic Society, and Political Pluralism

Comrades, we are striving for a political system expected to embody the people's power. This means that we should firmly adopt and base our actions on our own democratic traditions of the our national revival, that we should implement the principle of people's sovereignty, that we should establish our state on the basis of diversified mechanisms likely to express the people's will. This actually means to adopt a totally new view on the organization of power and, above all, to reject the monopoly of any social and political force whatsoever. Only and solely the people's will, expressed through free elections, grants or removes the power to and from a party, or a coalition of parties. By renouncing the claim on our leading role in society, which was granted to us by the Constitution, we accomplished the first necessary step in this direction. We, Communists, are resolved wholeheartedly to pursue the path of the people's confidence.

We should really proceed to an authentic parliamentary democracy, and a parliamentary system relying on worldwide democratic experience should be established. We adhere to the principle of division of power, we support the absolute supremacy of the National Assembly, which is the nationwide representative organ in charge of distributing the responsibilities of the other organs of power, responsibilities that are stemming from the parliamentary will. We propose that power should be implemented through organs based on a strict division of responsibilities, namely the legislative, executive, and judicial responsibilities. These organs should work under public control.

In our opinion, parliamentary democracy should include the necessary element of opportunties for the direct expression of the people's will on crucially important issues. No restrictions of political rights and liberties whatsoever should be admitted. The rights and liberties should be based on the goals and principles of the constitutional system.

The establishment of true people's power requires particular care for local government, for the development of municipal self-government. Democratic socialism means a high degree of autonomy for the local self-government organs. This presupposes consolidation of municipal government power, as well as democratic control exercised by the increasing involvement of citizens in such activities.

One of the basic conclusions imposed today is that democratization of the People's Republic of Bulgaria requires the creation and functioning of a vital civic society. It began to develop through the spontaneous eruption of our people's democratic aspirations, which, as we hope, will be embodied in a democratic and original political creativity. We should take advantage of these opportunities in order to build a state that serves the civic society, and not a state like that of the past that oppressed and virtually destroyed this society. We are ready to establish relations of partnership and cooperation with the basic social structures. In doing so we shall respect their political and organizational independence. We declare ourselves in favor of people freely associating in clubs, movements, and unions, in contact groups, and societies, including alternative groups. We should comprehensively encourage demonstrations of civic initiatives and we should strive for cooperation with civic structures; we should develop the capacity of exerting cultural influence on them in the spirit of the ideas and values of socialism.

Concerning the Armed Forces and the law enforcement organs, the BCP bases itself on the principle that law and order are necessary and on the postulates and tasks of restructuring, as well as on the vital interests of the party and state. The party is in favor of placing the Army and the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs under the control of the National Assembly. It is in favor of building the Bulgarian People's Army in conformity with the principles and postulates of reasonable and reliable sufficiency in defense. The BCP advocates the disbanding of political organs and party organizations in the Armed Forces and in the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The party shall further contribute to enhancing the role of the Armed Forces and of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs as stabilizing factors in society and as guarantors of the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and for increasing the prestige of serving in these institutions.

In the spirit of the current trends, we should fundamentally review the postulate on the class nature of the institutions of power. Political institutions and the state should be placed at the service of all citizens. The humanitarian goals of the political system should be consolidated. Such a system will bring us closer to the ideal of a society in which "the free development of every individual is a prerequisite for the free development of the whole community."

In accordance with the trend toward comprehensive democracy, the basic party decisions following 10 November 1989 determined the separation between party and state. As is known, as a result of the specific political situation, I was obliged simultaneously to exercise the function of general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and of State Council chairman. However, this necessity is already becoming meaningless, and things should return to normal. For this reason, I propose that the Congress should decide that one and the same individual not be the leader of the party and the state at the same time.

Comrades, the requirement of introducing a pluralistic, really effective multiparty system is an important lesson we learned from our historical experience. This system should reflect the diversity and variety of social, group, professional, and other interests in contemporary Bulgaria.

It is quite logical that these interests and their respective philosophical, economic, and political views could not coincide. It is normal that these forces should have disputes, that they should compete with each other under the conditions of parliamentary democracy. From this point of view, we think that the existence of an opposition is natural and necessary for the construction of a future political order and for the party itself, for its preservation as a political organization. Our party cannot normally develop without competitors. It is in the interest of the party itself that it should function within the framework of a constitutional system, which should include the existence of a viable political opposition.

A new situation promptly emerged following 10 November 1989: It was a situation under which the opportunities for an active role of the existing political and social organizations and their capacities of independent political activities in solving the nationwide problems drastically increased. Dozens of new sociopolitical associations and organizations also emerged, many of which proclaimed themselves as parties. In accordance with a respective law that is expected to be adopted, the criteria for the official existence and functioning of political parties will be adopted. As soon as this happens, and as soon as these organizations will submit their statutes, programs, and platforms to society, our party will be in a position to determine its own political approach to them.

Nevertheless, at this party congress we would like to share a few basic considerations on the relations among parties in Bulgaria on the eve of a truly democratic era in our history.

We think that the total activities of every party should proceed within the framework of the Constitution and that the competent state power organs should not admit any abuses whatsoever in this respect.

Our innovated party principally encourages the requirement for the existence of a political opposition, and, along with this, it openly declares that it is ready to regard all new party formations as partners and allies in the struggle for the democratization and renewal of our society. The BCP is ready to join a coalition with any of these parties for the implementation of positive national goals and for the accomplishment of specific tasks to rescue Bulgaria from the current crisis.

Along with the visible differences, the recent roundtable dialogue with the opposition forces presented many possible important points of contact, around which we might unite and work for social consensus along the path of restructuring. We are all in favor of crucial changes in

Bulgarian society, we all endorse guarantees for the irreversibility of the democratic process, for equal rights granted to all forms of ownership, for extensive civil rights and intellectual development.

The BCP, as you can see, refrains from conducting a political campaign against any other party in our country. It listens in a tolerant and self-critical spirit of respect to the opinions of the partners and the wishes addressed to it. However, the party cannot remain indifferent toward conscious efforts to destabilize the country, kindle anticommunism, create anticommunism, create racist and extremist moods, promote nationalism, and attempts against the country's sovereignty and integrity.

The party will not remain indifferent toward actions that threaten the personal security of the people because of their convictions, or political or religious affiliation. The party will wage an uncompromising political struggle against all similar antidemocratic manifestations, and when illegal actions are involved, whether on the part of its members or on the part of representatives of other parties, the party will plead for immediate social and penal sanctions, as provided for in the Constitution.

The party does not accept the tactics of ultimatums and blackmail. It categorically renounced violence as a political method. It condemned and sentenced people guilty of such actions in the part. However, it also categorically rejected attempts to talk to it from such positions.

Let us stress once again that we greet those new parties and public figures who adhere to renewal and to the ethic and civilized political process. We are prepared to work together with them and construct an exemplary political system capable of achieving equilibrium and stability and guaranteeing national security, social and personal safety to all citizens, and the unity of the Bulgarian nation.

We highly value cooperation with the existing authoritative parties and sociopolitical organizations and express to them gratitude for their cooperation until now. The BCP seeks to steadily strengthen the alliance with the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS]. This alliance has always had an important role in Bulgarian history, especially in the struggle against fascism and the construction of the new society. Fully overcoming the deformations in our relations, created in the period of the autocratic regime, our cooperation must be constructed and strengthened on the basis of total equality in the name of the democratic and humane development of society, and for strengthening the government of the working people, workers, peasants, intelligentsia, and other strata.

We express without any reservations our party's positive attitude toward the Fatherland Front. As in the past, the Fatherland's Front is now vitally necessary for our motherland. In the name of the lofty national interests, and while conducting fundamental democratic restructuring, it will turn into an even broader national movement of patriotic unity that unites millions of citizens in its ranks. The Fatherland Front is actively participating in the country's political and cultural life and in the struggle for satisfying the vital interests of the population.

Many other major and mass public organizations and movements exist in our country. The Bulgarian trade unions, the Dimitrov Komsomol, the Democratic Women's Movement, and so forth. The BCP supports the new processes in those organizations and is developing a new and active attitude toward those public forces on the basis of fully respecting their independence and self-management. On this basis the party will seek new forms and means of common work and united actions with those organizations and movements. The party will activate its members' cooperation with those organizations.

The Party and Efforts for Intellectual Revival

Comrades, scientific socialism was created by man's well-known striving for freedom, by humanism, and by the Renaissance. It became the support of millions of people and gave the world fighters and martyrs worthy of being in the pantheon of the most noted political figures. Our movement has a dramatic history that is an organic part of mankind's intellectual development. We are the agents of mankind's brightest ideals. True, until now we were not able to implement them, however, precisely because of this we are renewing ourselves, so that we can finally accomplish our original mission.

Marxism and our party are not a religion or a church institution. We are not shocked by the existence of doubt and disagreement and the inability to find a solution to all problems of man and society. We are satisfied with the fact that we can create and seek intellectual progress and development. The society of democratic socialism needs new intellectual horizons and richer and more fruitful intellectual life. If we do not contribute to the creation of such a new intellectual atmosphere in our country, the vacuum will be filled up by antihuman and individualistic trends, as well as by dangerous nationalistic and extremist ideals that could lead society toward a new dead-end street.

The main role of the party in the struggle for society's intellectual development is to give priority to universal values and freedoms. This means that we have to review the role of the class party attitude toward the contemporary realities. We must take note of the deformations that this attitude is producing through incorrect interpretation in the fields of ethics, education, literature, art, and social awareness. Bulgaria's renewal cannot take place while the country is detached from the universal and civilized processes and the problems of asserting humane characteristics in modern society.

While preserving and protecting our national characteristics and our rich and unique character we must not forget that our children and grandchildren will live in a new world. This world will depend on the resolution of global problems, including the problems of human rights and freedoms, peace and security, and the dangerous ecological catastrophe and economic destruction. The fate of everyone and everything will depend on resolving those problems.

Only a society based on the principles of humanism and human rights and freedoms can attract our citizens. It is precisely such a society that we are offering Bulgaria with the concept of democratic socialism. We must admit that until now caring for the individual was our party's Achilles' heel. We did not sufficiently deal with the issues of the Marxist theory of humanity, the social and personal psychology, ethics, and other behavior-related sciences. This is one of the reasons for the dehumanization of our movement and party policy. Of course, the bourgeois theoreticians and politicians also did not succeed in doing this. They were not able to overcome the alienation and dehumanization of life and production. However, they did not elevate the construction of humane society to the rank of a priority goal. We must do this. We are called upon to do this. However, we not only did not make a single step forward, but in certain aspects we even retreated. Our claims for constructing the new man proved to utopic. A new man cannot be constructed under conditions of regarding that man as a means of achieving some other, ostensibly higher goals. Today we state: Man is the highest asset of our policy.

Our renewed party of democratic socialism does not relinquish its own opinion and position on all issues of our people's intellectual development. On the contrary, we will begin to create in a new manner our own party platform on this exceptionally important area of human life.

The party adheres to real freedom of artistic culture. Under conditions of the authoritarian regime, repulsive attempts were made to turn it first of all into the creator and propagandist of the positive heroes, myths and concepts praising the successes of the system. For this purpose, it was accepted to crudely prescribe to the creators what is permitted and what is not. The theory of socialist realism was imposed as the only one that was beneficial to society and the intellect. This position did not in any way consider the viewers, readers, and listeners, and in essence aimed at achieving a total ideological-artistic manipulation.

Today the party is the initiator of a process of a fundamental and rapid reassessment of the artistic assets of the period of the authoritarian regime. The party seeks to destroy the bureaucratic supercentralization of culture, eliminating the primitive norms and removing the prohibitions over certain themes, subjects, images, and ideas. The party will firmly support the free creative search, pluralism, and the profound and introspective use of our traditions and culture in life. I must point out that we add to those traditions everything valuable and humane that has been created outside the Bulgarian borders.

Developing science and education has a decisive importance in our people's future. It is obvious that if we do not come closer to the leading countries in the scientific-technological aspects, do not rapidly and effectively develop our own scientific potential, and do not create new educated and capable scientific-technical and executive cadres, Bulgaria is doomed to backwardness and national failure. Therefore, the party proposes to immediately prepare an independent expert assessment of the reasons for the country's backwardness vis-a-vis the modern scientific-technical revolution, and the efficient and rapid roads of coming closer to the highly developed countries. Undoubtedly, one of the decisive conditions for this is to firmly begin to overcome the crisis in our educational system. About 50 percent, comrades, of the workers and employees in our country, have only basic and even lower education. Some 50 percent! The party adheres to new quality, contents, forms, and methods of education that would correspond to the requirements for democracy, humanity, and justice. We adhere to diversifying the future educational system through our new economic policy, by introducing new forms of self-administration and self-account, and market mechanisms in this area.

We adhere to the de-ideologization of education. However, we adhere to and will never relinquish the promotion of education in the spirit of patriotism and love for the motherland, our dear Bulgaria. We will encourage by all means the study of the universal achievements and norms of behavior, and will strive to involve the young generation with the ideals of universal progress.

The Nationality Issue and The Party

Comrades, we received a very grave heritage in anything related to the ethnic issue. I mean an ideological unscrupulousness, utilitarian policy, and crude deformations and violence in social practice. As a result, the sincere aspirations of our people toward national unity, regardless of the ethnic or religious differences, were seriously undermined.

As you know, we decisively denounced this policy. From now on we do not have the right to repeat old mistakes. We think that the unity of the Bulgarian nation depends on the strict respect for human rights and freedoms and human dignity, and on observing the legal order and the country's laws. Therefore, it is especially important to combine the national interests with the requirements of the international contacts and guarantee the peaceful development on the basis of the laws of democracy, territorial integrity and national originality, and active participation in the common European home and its Balkan story.

Our people approach with a sense of responsibility and duty the solution of the difficult problems that we inherited from the past, the democratic dialogue within the framework of the Public Council on Discussing the National Issue. The result of this council's work was the declaration that was adopted unanimously by the National Assembly. Thus a stable foundation was created for the work of the commission on the ethnic issue, which was especially formed by the National Assembly.

Our country expects that out of this commission it will form a new policy on the ethnic issue, purged of ad hoc considerations and coordinated with the national interests.

However, there is another not-less-important factor for the unity of the Bulgarian nation—the economic factor. An economically prosperous state can be constructed only by the joint efforts of all its citizens. All of them, regardless of their ethnic or religious affiliation, have a reason to enjoy the results of their work. A prosperous state produces fewer grounds for the emergence of social tensions, which often acquire ethnic or religious connotations. Finally, a modern and prosperous state is the center of attraction for all its citizens. Separatist ideas that have been locally produced or imported have difficulties asserting themselves in such a state.

Therefore, let us offer a hand to one another. Let us make Bulgaria an economically strong, civilized, and law-governed state worthy of its European future. This will be the firm foundation on which we will construct the unity of the Bulgarian nation.

Bulgaria in Europe and the World

Comrades, the BCP Central Committee 10 November Plenum marked the beginning of changes also in our country's foreign policy. Deformations, inherent to the authoritarian-bureaucratic system affected also this sphere. I mean arbitrary authoritarian decisions, incompetent interference in political and cadre issues, deception, and improvisation. However, because of the specific characteristics of foreign policy, this sphere was less affected by deformations than our domestic development.

It is an indisputable fact that Bulgaria's foreign policy even before the November plenum, was realistic and peace-loving. Our country made and is making a constructive contribution to the efforts to achieve detente, disarmament, and general improvement of international relations in the Balkans, Europe, and the world. Obviously today, with the radically changing situation, along with the renewal, we must preserve the objectively justified continuity of positive factors that have accumulated until now in international relations.

We also must recall that in recent years Bulgaria was placed in a position of alarming international isolation. Precisely from this point of view must we assess the foreign policy importance of the radical changes that began on 10 November 1989. Those changes revealed the road toward creating a new quality in our relations with other states. The decision of 29 December 1989 was an important step that received a universal and clearly expressed recognition on the part of governments and public in Europe and the world.

The renewal in our country allows us to activate our participation in international contacts on the basis of the national interests and universal values, and reassess the priorities that must be formed on a democratic basis and placed above the party interests. This approach already is producing results. Our country left its state of isolation and asserts its worthy place in the new system of international relations that is being formed, first of all, in Europe.

Bulgaria is a small country. We do not aim to conduct global policy. We are an integral part of Europe, the European historical heritage, and Europe's moral, political, social, and cultural values. On the other hand our state is located in a region of a contradictory past, which has historical legacies of different natures. It is situated at the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, where serious military asymmetries are evident that are unjustified under the present conditions.

The concern for the security of the Bulgarian people in all its aspects—political, military, economic, social, humanitarian, and ecological—is in the foundation of Bulgaria's national interests.

The prospective solution of this issue can be found today only in a pan-European context. Therefore, we support the idea of creating an efficient system of security and cooperation in Europe that will be of a new type. The political guarantees and the mutual dependence of economic interests will be the determining factors. We think that favorable conditions exist for an advance along the entire line of East-West relations. Those conditions are related to the striving to overcome Europe's division. Bulgaria without any reservations accepts the idea of the pan-European home and will contribute to its construction.

Cooperation with the USSR and the other allied country is a priority direction in our foreign policy. The Bulgarian-USSR summit talks in Moscow in December 1989 demonstrated the total support of the Soviet leadership for the course of democratic renewal assumed by Bulgaria.

There can be no doubt that our national security cannot be guaranteed even now without our participation in the Warsaw Pact and without preserving the bilateral treaties on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance with the USSR and the other allied states. We adhere to a stable, democratic, and voluntary alliance, able at noting and guaranteeing the interests of all its members and, naturally, also the interests of Bulgaria. Our participation in a fundamentally renewed, efficient, and dynamic CEMA preserves its importance under the present reality.

The course of profound democratic reforms in Bulgaria enjoys a general and clearly expressed international support. The attitude toward Bulgaria's steps to gain membership in GATT, the IMF, and the World Bank, is positive. The possibility of rapidly signing an agreement on economic and trade cooperation with the EEC is emerging. In the Balkan policy, our goals remain to improve the climate in this region, by steadily defending Bulgaria's national interests in accordance with the civilized principles and norms of equal and mutually beneficial economic cooperation.

We see the future of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans through the integration of all positive factors in the achievements of all Balkan states, utilizing the factors that have regional importance and joining a broader European complex together with our neighbors.

Loyal to the tradition of international solidarity, the Bulgarian Communists do not turn their backs on the dramatic problems of the developing world. They confirm their support of this world's struggle against the neocolonial dependence and for relief from the burden of the foreign debts, as well as for other just claims of the Nonaligned Movement.

Comrade delegates, soon our renewed party will face a very serious test. We will participate in free and democratic elections that will be a decisive test both for our unity and will for victory, and for our ideas.

We must clearly understand that the time of the administrative-command methods is over. The time of the "brilliant" election victories is over. Those victories that in the past were achieved by the party apparatus already are history.

Soon our ability to conduct a political struggle will be tested. The ability of every Communist to convince through the power of arguments, facts, and intellect must be expressed. It will be necessary to work among the people and gain their confidence. For us the elections will be a test of the vitality of our ideas. We will worthily struggle for their implementation.

Our party will enter the election campaign as a renewed and purified party. "Facing" along with the other parties, the people in this struggle, we must declare that we adhere to elections without manipulations or petty ad hoc and narrow political intrigues. We will decisively oppose any violations of constitutional freedoms and democracy in the election campaign. We will defend equality among all competitors and struggle against ensuring privileges for some and oppressing other candidates. Our party must give an example of correctness, loyalty, and morality in the election campaign.

Let us be realistic: Under the new conditions, there is no guarantee of success. However, we Communists have always been optimists. There is no other real and constructive position. Not one of us should be a passive observer in the political stage, especially during those difficult years of our development. In the names of the millions who have devoted their lives and work to the motherland, we must walk the difficult road toward the real, democratic, and human socialism. The forthcoming elections are the first harsh test that we will face.

Regaining the people's confidence and restoring their faith in socialism and justice is the key for the success in elections. We must clearly and precisely announce that we aim primarily at constructing a democratic and human social system in which there will be no hunger, misery, illiteracy, and social and national oppression. Those achievements of which we are proud were reached thanks to socialism.

Participating in the election campaign, we will have to clearly and precisely defend the society of the democratic socialism, in which there are equal possibilities of development. We shall seek an optimal combination of equality and freedom. Under pluralism of the forms of property, we shall create the most favorable conditions for productive and effective initiatives for all, conditions that will combine personal interests with the interests of society.

We will increase the nation's well-being and wealth through stimulating the individual, the group, the collective, and by radically reforming the system of political, economic, and ideological relations. We will decisively abolish the contradiction between words and deeds.

We will insist on achieving better order and discipline so that we can produce more goods of better quality. Constructing an economy of market character, and actively cooperating with the international economic and financial organizations, we will create preconditions for overcoming the crisis.

It is true that we allowed mistakes on our long and difficult road. It is true that self-appointed dictators and leaders with their actions became a cause of undermining the confidence of the masses. However, in the election campaign we must say that it was the party that from the first moment devoted itself to the idea of freedom and releasing the labor and intellect from any oppression and exploitation. The party has never relinquished this principle. The very lives of tens and hundreds of thousands of rank-and-file party members are the best proof in this respect. The party has never betrayed or relinquished its people, despite all distortions and deformations. They, the people, our people, know this very well. It is precisely the party, armed with the theory of creative Marxism, inspired by the new political thinking and the ideas of universal progress, that is capable of drawing comprehensive lessons from the past and leading Bulgaria toward a qualitatively new level of democratic socialism.

Participating in the struggle to win the confidence of the people, we must take into consideration the dynamics of the world political processes. The rapid changes in Europe and the world affect the thinking of every citizen of our country. The thirst for changes and the impatience with which they are anticipated increase the political tension and intensify social unrest. This means that we must hold free and democratic elections no later than May 1990.

Three months ahead of the elections we clearly and firmly declare:

—The BCP adheres to a government of national consensus, capable of leading the country out of the crisis.

—The BCP adheres to a socially oriented market economy.

—The BCP adheres to social security of everyone.

—The BCP adheres to legal order and freedoms for all.

—The BCP adheres to the progress of culture, science, and education.

—The BCP adheres to peace and security, a world without nuclear weapons and wars.

—The BCP adheres to Bulgaria's joining the European home.

—The BCP adheres to democratic and socialist Bulgaria.

Those are historic goals. Our ideal is great. Our renewed party will march toward a worthy future in a worthy manner as a worthy party.

Thank you for your attention.

Zhelev on Western Economic Aid

AU2501082790 Sofia BTA in English
2143 GMT 24 Jan 90

["Opposition Expects Economic Aid From the West for Economic and Political Reforms"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) is fully aware that without receiving economic aid from the West Bulgaria will not be able to overcome the economic crisis, but this aid should be used for the implementation of radical economic reforms, said UDF Chairman Zhelyu Zhelev before the Bulgarian Television. His statement was made in connection with the publication in RABOTNICHESKO DELO quoting a Dutch newspaper which announced the opinion of the opposition as to the conditions on which the West should help the country.

The economic reforms will make it possible to use Western economic aid efficiently. Otherwise we can find ourselves in the situation existing hitherto when the aid disappeared as water in sand, Zhelyu Zhelev said. The UDF position on this problem is a matter of principle, it's firm, he underlined.

He expressed the view that RABOTNICHESKO DELO should not seek to represent the UDF as a political opposition which is coveting power even at the cost of starving the Bulgarian people to death.

The economic aid should be associated with democratization, Zhelyu Zhelev went on to say. That's what the national interests require. If there is no such link, the past can make its comeback. Bulgaria's foreign debt is to the tune of 10-12 milliard dollars. Instead of shifting the blame for the economic crisis from the ill head to the sound one, RABOTNICHESKO DELO should explain where the money has gone, what it has been spent on, how this debt has piled.

Zhelyu Zhelev denied that the opposition wants to defeat the Communist Party. Our position is clear, he said. We are against the monopoly of the Communist Party and not against the party itself. In a law-abiding, democratic, multiparty state there will be room for the Communist Party and for all other political parties as well.

U.S. Initiative on Troop Cuts Welcomed

AU0802121790 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 2 Feb 90 p 5

[Kveta Buschova commentary: "Week of Disarmament Proposals"]

[Text] The United States has been rich in keynote policy statements this week. At its outset George Bush presented to Congress the draft budget for fiscal year 1991 (which actually starts this October) and on Wednesday [31 January] he delivered on Capitol Hill the traditional Message on the State of the Union. It is gratifying that disarmament steps and initiatives were one of the common denominators in both of these statements.

U.S. defense expenditures, for example, are to amount to $295 billion next fiscal year, which represents a 2 percent real cut in the defense budget when inflation is taken into account. And since democratic congressmen in particular (and they represent the majority) consider even this sum to be too high, the part of the budget "dedicated" to the Pentagon is likely to "shrink" a bit further when the budget is discussed in the legislative body.

It is also worth noting that, in connection with this, 55 military bases in the United States and 14 U.S. military bases abroad are to be abolished or scaled down over the course of 5 years and that 38,000 members of the U.S. armed forces and an additional 29,000 civilian employees of the defense department are to be laid off. Even though the 14 foreign bases represent only the proverbial "drop in the ocean" among the almost 600 U.S. military installations in 34 countries of the world, this is tangible proof of positive shifts in the thinking of the Washington leadership—all the more so as most of these bases are situated on the European Continent. Moreover, some of them are bases from which American intermediate- and short-range nuclear weapons are being gradually withdrawn.

However, the most important disarmament initiative is George Bush's proposal, made in his message on Wednesday [31 January], to cut the number of U.S. and USSR troops in Central Europe to 195,000 men on each side. Even though even this proposal evidently has certain weak points—among other things, the lack of a timetable and the failure to mention U.S. troops in southern Europe and in Great Britain (35,000 men)—it has met with interest and a positive response both within NATO and in the USSR. In connection with G. Bush's proposal of last May for an "all-European ceiling" of 275,000 troops for each superpower, this latest proposal also fails to make it clear that the numbers of U.S. troops stationed there [in southern Europe and Great Britain] would not be augmented.

In the Soviet Union and the other countries of East Europe, including Czechoslovakia, most people cannot fail to acknowledge the fact that the American President's proposal is based on a profoundly realistic analysis of the situation in Europe. It is also evident that Bush's proposal respects the situation in which the USSR and Mikhail Gorbachev, in particular, have found themselves. Because of interethnic conflicts, the complicated situation in the CPSU, and Czechoslovakia's and Hungary's efforts to bring about the earliest possible withdrawal of Soviet troops from their territories, Mikhail Gorbachev is now under strong pressure from radical forces from both poles of the opposition.

This week's initiative from the American President is thus welcomed in both the West and the East. It is likely to become the central theme of comprehensive bilateral and multilateral discussions, not only at the Vienna disarmament talks, where the new U.S. proposal will soon be officially presented, but also during U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's visit next week to Prague, Moscow, and other European states.

U.S. Report on Havel-Baker Talks Outlined

AU0802141790 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 7 Feb 90 pp 1, 4

[CTK report: "U.S. Secretary of State in Prague"]

[Excerpt] Prague—[passage omitted] President V. Havel and Secretary of State J. Baker discussed the mutual economic cooperation of both countries, attitudes toward the proposals for the reunification of Germany, reducing the Soviet and U.S. military forces in Europe, and other problems of European cooperation. This was announced by a high-ranking U.S. State Department official at a meeting with journalists in Prague.

Secretary of State Baker emphasized the fact that the United States has been supporting the idea of the reunification of Germany for 40 years. He also rejected the recent proposal by East German Premier H. Modrow calling for neutrality of the future Germany. The high-ranking U.S. official, however, refused to comment on the proposal that NATO armies not enter GDR territory after the reunification, if it materializes.

As far as CSSR-U.S. cooperation is concerned, the American official emphasized that President Havel did not ask for economic aid.

V. Havel and J. Baker spoke broadly about conventional force reduction in Europe. President Havel, according to the American official, pointed out the strong wish of the Czechoslovak people for the early departure of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. He said he will discuss this matter with the highest-ranking Soviet official, M. Gorbachev. V. Havel told the American guest that Czechoslovakia was negotiating not only the departure of all the Soviet troops from CSSR territory, but is also making preparations for reducing the size of its own army. He confirmed that Czechoslovakia will gradually reduce arms exports and intends to stop exporting arms altogether in the future.

According to the previously mentioned American official, V. Havel and J. Baker agreed on the fact that American army units will remain in Europe. In connection with the assumed large Soviet force reductions in Central Europe, the CSSR president said that it would be also beneficial to reduce the U.S. troops in Europe. V. Havel said that the dissolution of the military alliances is a long-term gradual aim which can be achieved only after a new European security system is built. J. Baker emphasized that NATO will retain its importance not only as a military alliance but also as a political one. [passage omitted]

'Plenary Session' on USSR Troop Talks

LD0902155890 Prague CTK in English 1506 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow Feb 9 (CTK correspondent)—The first part of the second round of Czechoslovak-Soviet talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia finished here today. The talks will continue at the level of experts' groups.

The last session of the two delegations brought the positions of the delegations on some points closer to one another. The delegations discussed a Czechoslovak draft agreement, involving dates of departure of the Soviet troops and ways of settling property questions.

The Soviet side said it is prepared to withdraw its troops from Czechoslovakia completely. The delegations discussed the possibility of withdrawing a substantial part of the troops by the the end of May 1990 and both sides agreed that this step is realistic.

The delegations decided to continue work at the level of experts. A plenary session can be convened upon a proposal of one of the sides at any time.

Spokesman Criticizes Soviet Article on Troops

LD0902093990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Lubos Dobrovsky, press spokesman of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry, responded today to Thursday's [8 February] commentary by Aleksandr Kondrashov carried by TASS. He said in the statement that the author of the commentary evidently had not noticed that it is not a matter of Czechoslovak troops' being illegally on the Soviet Union's territory, but one in which the Soviet troops have for 22 years been violating a number of international treaties, the UN Charter, and the Treaty on Friendship between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. It is therefore up to the Soviet Union to demonstrate initiative, at least from the moment when the highest political places in Moscow stated that the Soviet troops' entry into Czechoslovakia in August 1968 was a political error and a violation of international law.

Ostrava Body Backs Civic Forum on USSR Forces

LD0902042590 Prague CTK in English 1743 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Ostrava, North Moravia, Feb 8 (CTK)—The regional council of the Civic Forum in Ostrava issued a statement today, supporting the demand that no foreign soldiers should be on Czechoslovak territory by December 31, 1990 and that at least 40 per cent of Soviet troops should leave the region by the elections to the Federal Assembly due in June.

In its statement, issued on the occasion of the current round of Czechoslovak-Soviet talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia in Moscow, the Ostrava Civic Forum stressed two points—firstly, that the 1968 agreement on the temporary stationing of the Soviet troops strictly defined the temporary character of their presence and the Soviet side must have foreseen that the pullout would once take place. Arguing with the housing problem in the USSR proves, however, that the Soviet side foresaw nothing of the sort. Secondly, a combat-capable army must be able to transfer itself by railway to a given place as five armies took only two days to occupy Czechoslovakia.

The statement also demanded that the area evacuated by the troops should never again be used for any military purposes.

Dlouhy Outlines Country's Stance on CEMA

LD0902035690 Prague CTK in English 1728 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak ideas concerning changes in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) are close to Hungarian and Polish opinions but it does not mean that the countries will elaborate a joint strategy, Vladimir Dlouhy, Czechoslovak deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, said at a press conference in the government presidium office here today.

He spoke about government guidelines concerning the procedure of the Czechoslovak Government at the session of the special CMEA committee in Moscow on February 11.

The Czechoslovak side is of the opinion that it is purposeful to remain in CMEA but will strive for accelerated realization of fundamental changes which means, inter alia, the transfer from multilateral meaningful cooperation based on coordination of national economic plans to bilateral relations with a stress on payments and exchange rates. It will be necessary to reduce the significance of the CMEA Secretariat. The Council should continue to have above all coordinating, informative and statistical functions. East European countries should be able to establish advantageous bilateral contacts in its framework, he stressed.

Vladimir Dlouhy further said that the Soviet Union is a significant market for all advanced states. It would be therefore unreasonable to give it up. But Czechoslovakia will demand its opening and direct access of its enterprises to the Soviet market without the mediation of Gosplan in [words indistinct].

Israeli Foreign Minister Arrives in Prague

LD0802142290 Prague CTK in English 1157 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 8 (CTK)—Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens arrived here today for an official visit at the invitation of his Czechoslovak counterpart Jiri Dienstbier.

An agreement on the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries is expected to be signed during the visit which will last till February 10.

Czechoslovakia was one of the countries which had a direct share in the foundation of the Israeli state. It took part in working out and supporting the U.N. Security Council resolution of November 29, 1947 which proved for the creation of two states—the Jewish and the Arab—on Palestinian territory. Czechoslovakia has recognized Israel immediately after the declaration of its independence on May 14, 1948.

The founder of the Czechoslovak state Tomas Garrigue Masaryk (1918-1935), Czechoslovakia's first president, had already supported the idea of Jewish statehood. During his three-month unofficial tour of oriental countries in April 1927, he visited Egypt and Palestine as well. Streets and squares in Israeli cities have been named after Masaryk until these days.

Czechoslovak volunteers who fled Czechoslovakia due to Hitlerite occupation in 1940 came to Palestine, Britain's colonial dominion, to be trained in order to join the anti-fascist resistance on the side of the British soldiers. In 1941-1942, Czechoslovak units actively participated in the victorious struggle against troops of fascist Italy and Germany in the north of Africa. After a short post-war period of the two countries' hopeful cooperation, their ties cooled down in the 1950's mainly due to the fabricated trials of the so-called Zionist anti-state centre incited by the Stalinist leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party led by Klement Gottwald.

After the Israeli invasion of Arab territories in 1967 contacts between Israel and Czechoslovakia were broken off for a period of 20 years by the Czechoslovak side. Their resumption in political sphere started in 1988 on the level of political parties and non- governmental organizations. Certain revival in the economy was experienced in the mid-1980's. In 1985-1989, the two countries' trade exchange amounted to six-eleven million U.S. dollars annually. At the close of the 1980's, both countries launched cooperation in tourism and spa treatment. In January 1990, an agreement was signed between the Czechoslovak airlines and the Israeli air company El Al on resumption of the Prague-Tel Aviv direct lines which is planned for June 1990. After the revolutionary events in Czechoslovakia at the end of 1989 both Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier spoke in favour of the resumption of diplomatic ties with Israel.

Comments on Establishing Ties

LD0802163290 Prague CTK in English 1511 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 8 (CTK)—Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, who arrived here today for a three-day visit to Czechoslovakia, told journalists shortly after his arrival that he hopes that the relations between Czechoslovakia and Israel will be established during his visit.

"It is a great pleasure for me to be here in Prague. It is a historical occasion for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, the relationship that was unfortunately broken off 20 years ago. I think that when I leave Czechoslovakia we shall not only have diplomatic relations renewed but we shall also have the beginning of renewed new friendship", Moshe Arens said.

"In Israel, we follow with interest, sympathy and admiration the great steps that have been taken in Czechoslovakia at the present time, the movement from many years of totalitarian rule to democracy, and Israel as a democratic country has a great deal of understanding for what you are doing here".

Moshe Arens appreciated Czechoslovakia's interest in the installation of peace in the Middle East and in the security of Israel. "I am sure to have a chance to present the Middle East situation to your prime minister and the president as well, and to have an opportunity to have the opinions you may have on the subject. Maybe in the process we shall see that there is a contribution Czechoslovakia can make as well in the process", Moshe Arens added.

Meets With Dienstbier

LD0802235990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1900 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, minister of foreign affairs, held talks with Moshe Arens, his Israeli counterpart, in the Cernin Palace in Prague.

The Czechoslovak official called his visit the beginning of a new era in mutual relations between the two states. He expressed Czechoslovakia's interst in all-round cooperation, especially in the fields of economy, tourism, education, culture, and science.

Moshe Arens welcomed the processes of democratization in East Europe and especially the return of Czechoslovakia among democratic states. The two ministers also exchanged views on the situation in the Middle East.

On the same day, Jiri Dienstbier and his wife gave a dinner in the Cernin Palace in Prague in honor of Mr Moshe Arens and his wife.

'Very Pleased' With Meeting

TA0802180790 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1705 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] The foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia and Israel ended their first working meeting a short time ago. At noon tomorrow, they will sign an agreement on the resumption of bilateral relations. The talk between Minister Arens and Jiri Dienstbier—we still have to get used to these names—lasted two hours, and spokesmen on both sides expressed full satisfaction about the atmosphere. Our special envoy Yig'al Rom reports from Prague:

[Begin Rom recording] The Israeli and Czechoslovak flags flew alongside each other atop the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry building for the first time in 22 years. Moshe Arens was greeted very warmly on the first visit to Prague by an Israeli foreign minister since Czechoslovakia severed relations with our country. The Czechoslovaks are eager to close this chapter, as well as other chapters in their past, and go back to being a country like all others.

In the political talk, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier briefly reviewed the history of both countries, expressed his sorrow over the severance of relations, and said he hoped relations would improve and would not only help erase the past, but also promote a friendly future. Minister Arens willingly agreed to extend economic assistance in every possible field to Czechoslovakia. All in all, he was very pleased with the talk.

As said, the official ceremony marking the resumption of relations will be held tomorrow. Then, Israel and Czechoslovakia each have tough problems to solve, but they both agree that the time has come to do so amid friendship and mutual understanding. [end recording]

Minister Arens will continue his meetings in Prague this evening. He is currently conferring with Prime Minister Marian Calfa and will later have an audience with the chairman of the Czechoslovak parliament, the well-known Alexander Dubcek.

Protocol Signed Establishing Relations

LD0902133990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Final talks between Jiri Dienstbier and Moshe Arens, the CSSR and Israeli Foreign ministers, opened in the Cernin Palace in Prague shortly after 1300. The two representatives signed a protocol on resuming diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Ties Resumed; Further Agreements Noted

TA0902142390 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1400 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] About an hour ago, Czechoslovakia and Israel resumed diplomatic relations following a 23-year hiatus. The agreement was signed in Prague by the two countries' foreign ministers. This made the CSSR the second East European country to take that move, after Hungary, and before Poland, which is expected to follow suit.

CSSR President Vaclav Havel wants to exploit the revitalized feelings of friendship between the two countries to grant his country a role in Middle East peace efforts, and is expected to visit Israel for that purpose in 2 months.

An agreement on scientific, educational, and cultural cooperation was signed simultaneously with the accord on the resumption of ties. A spokesman for the Foreign Ministry in Prague said that extensive economic ties between the two countries are also expected.

Agriculture Cooperation Discussed With Israelis

AU0902101690 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 3 Feb 90 p 1

[Interview with Arpad Szabo, section chief at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, by "mol"-signed ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY reporter in West Berlin; date not given: "Shall We Go to the Fair?; First Contacts With Israeli Farmers"—opening passage is ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Excerpts] The "Green Week" exhibition in West Berlin was attended by a Czechoslovak Government delegation led by Oldrich Bursky, deputy premier and federal minister of agriculture and food. He established a number of important contacts here, one of which was a meeting with Avraham Katz-'Oz, Israeli minister of agriculture.

At the exhibition I met Engineer Arpad Szabo, section chief at our ministry, who had mediated the meeting in cooperation with the Israeli Embassy in Bonn.

[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY] What was the significance of the meeting?

[Szabo] It was a working meeting, the aim of which was to establish mutually advantageous cooperation in the sphere of agriculture. This cooperation could help us very much in intensifying our agriculture, whose standard in Israel is high. [passage omitted] The genetic stock of cattle used in Israel could be very beneficial to us—Israeli dairy cows are the most productive in the world; in 1988 they yielded an average of almost 8,400 kg per head. The genetic material of a number of agricultural crops could also be useful to us.

[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY] You spoke about mutually beneficial cooperation. Does this mean that we, too, have something to offer Israel?

[Szabo] Czechoslovakia has reached a high standard in embryo transfers, for example, and is in a position to offer top-level technology in this sphere. But I am sure that other possibilities will also be found on both sides.

[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY] What about the next steps?

[Szabo] We will draw up specific proposals for cooperation in agriculture and the food industry, with which we will familiarize the Israeli side. We will receive Israeli experts and our side, in turn, would like to participate in the Israeli agricultural fair, which will be held in March. We could, for example, display our tractors at the fair, which could thus find a new market.

Havel Meets Council of Europe President

LD0802160890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, received at Prague Castle today a delegation of the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe, headed by its president, Anders Bjoerck, and accompanied by Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly. The representatives spoke in favor of close cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Council of Europe. Anders Bjoerck said that the Czechoslovak request for observer status should be discussed at the latest by September of this year and that full membership in the council could happen within one to three years. At the same time, he officially invited Vaclav Havel to address the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe during his visit to Strasbourg. Vaclav Havel thankfully accepted the invitation.

Bjoerck Ends Visit

LD0802200190 Prague CTK in English 1750 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 8 (CTK)—President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Anders Bjoerck today spoke optimistically of Czechoslovakia's possibility to join the council.

Speaking at a meeting with Czechoslovak and foreign journalists here today at the end of his two-day visit to Czechoslovakia, Anders Bjoerck stated that the Council of Europe last year established a special guest status. Czechoslovakia, through Chairman of the Federal Assembly Alexander Dubcek, last month asked for its granting, thus joining Poland, Hungary, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, which have already requested it.

The status of guest will probably be granted to Czechoslovakia during the visit of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to Strasbourg on May 10, where he will address a European Council Parliamentary Assembly session. In Anders Bjoerck's opinion, Czechoslovakia could become the council's full member in spring 1991.

The council's chairman also spoke of the conditions that countries must fulfil to enter the council. They include the protection of human rights, which is linked with the existence of a democratic constitution, a pluralist system and free elections. It was agreed that the council's observers will attend the general elections in Czechoslovakia declared for June 8. The Council of Europe will offer the possibility of expertise and consultations in working out new legal norms.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier was invited to attend a session of foreign ministers of the Council of Europe in Lisbon in March.

Tonight, Anders Bjoerck ended his visit to Czechoslovakia.

Havel on 'Neutral Germany,' Unification

LD0802235490 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1900 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, in an interview given to the Deutsche Welle radio station, said that given the existence of two military blocs, a neutral Germany would look absurd in the center of Europe.

At the same time, he stressed that he would like to see the unification of the Germans in the shortest possible time.

Trade, Currency Discussed With FRG Minister

LD0902035190 Prague CTK in English 1720 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn Feb 8 (CTK correspondent)—Relations with West German partners were established on a qualitatively new level, Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus told Czechoslovak journalists here today at the end of his visit to West Germany.

"We have found great understanding on the West German side...we discussed e.g. how to extend the number of firms in West Germany which are interested in the Czechoslovak market and the preparation of the law on the protection of investments and transfer of profits", he stressed.

The agreement signed today on non-taxation of motor vehicles in Czechoslovakia and the FRG is bilateral. As the number of Czechoslovakia's trucks in West Germany is higher than the number of FRG trucks in Czechoslovakia the agreement is advantageous for Czechoslovakia, Vaclav Klaus underlined.

Theodor Waigel told journalists that they also conferred about the International Monetary Fund and that West Germany will support Czechoslovakia's admission to this organization. He said that they also dealt with cooperation in the framework of the European communities and exchanged opinions on currency policy.

Cultural Center Pact Signed With FRG's Genscher

LD0202132190 Prague CTK in English 1220 GMT 2 Feb 90

[Text] Nuremberg Feb 2 (CTK Correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minsier Jiri Dienstbier and his West German counterpart Hans-Dietrich Genscher signed here today an inter-government agreement on the establishment and activity of cultural and information centres and a protocol on consultations.

As the two sides agreed, the West German centre will be based in Prague and its name will be the Goethe Institute. The seat of the Czechoslovak centre will be agreed later.

The protocol on consultations of the two countries' Foreign Ministries provides for the extension of mutual consultations on questions of bilateral relations and important international issues of common interest. The foreign ministers or their deputies as well as prominent colleagues will meet at least once a year.

Jiri Dienstbier voiced the conviction that the two sides will soon reach an agreement on visa-free relations and that border crossings will be opened as well as old paths that have for centuries connected villages in Czechoslovakia and Bavaria. The new stage of the two countries' relations will only be the stage of cooperation in the future.

Later today, the two ministers gave a press conference.

Nuclear Industry Objects to Greenpeace Reports

AU0702133890

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 6 February on page 3 carries a 300- word "ch"-signed report entitled "MAPE Versus Greenpeace." The report deals with a news conference held by the management of the Mydlovary uranium processing plant, known as MAPE, in Ceske Budejovice on 5 February. MAPE director Stefan Lasica is quoted as having announced that the management will file a lawsuit against the Greenpeace organization, because of "grievous misinformation spread about our enterprise." Engineer Jan Matzner, the radiation expert of the South Bohemian Regional Health Office, is said to have "refuted the charges raised by Greenpeace against MAPE." According to Matzner, "the dying of cattle in the sixties, which Greenpeace attributes to the chemical plants of the uranium industry, was caused by brucellosis." Likewise, "it is possible to state with certainty that the operational accident of 1965 [in MAPE] was not a radioactive catastrophe, in the course of which the health of the people of southern Bohemia was endangered."

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 350-word statement issued by the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission, CSKAE, in which the commission distances itself from "posters signed by Greenpeace that have appeared at various places in Czechoslovakia in the last weeks, according to which in December 1989 the CSKAE set up together with the Greenpeace organization a commission to eliminate shortcomings in Czechoslovak nuclear power stations." According to the CSKAE, it has never been asked by Greenpeace to set up such a commission. The statement also takes issue with the claim made in the posters that "information on accidents in Czechoslovak nuclear power stations has been hushed up for many years and proposals to improve the safety of the population have not been put to use." It stresses that the CSKAE has been informing the Czechoslovak public "regularly and objectively" about the results of its inspections of nuclear facilities and that the "only operational accident" in a Czechoslovak nuclear power station—that is, "the accident in the A-1 experimental nuclear power station which led to its closure in 1979 and which did not endanger the health of the population"—had been reported "almost 10 years ago."

Calfa Receives IBM European Director-General

LD0802152890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Federal Premier Marian Calfa had a meeting in Prague today with Nick Temple, IBM's European director-general. In their talk, Marian Calfa stressed his interest in all-round advantageous cooperation between Czechoslovak enterprises and foreign firms and noted the importance of interaction, primarily in computer and information technology.

Nick Temple reported on his talks to date with Czechoslovak partners and made specific proposals for cooperation beween IBM and Czechoslovak enterprises in the coming period.

Journalists Visit Counterintelligence Center

LD0802121490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] The Federal Ministry of the Interior has enabled foreign journalists to take another glimpse at the center of Czechoslovak counterintelligence in the building of the former second administration of the National Security Corps on Thakurova Street in Prague. Foreign correspondents were able to see that the offices were locked and that the safes were sealed. They satisfied themselves that only 35 people remain there to ensure the operation of the building.

New Chief, Military Prosecutors Appointed

LD0502191190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Dr. Jan Sitar, prosecutor general of Czechoslovakia, today asked the president of the Republic to release him from office. The president accepted his resignation and appointed Dr. Tibor Boehm, up to now prosecutor general in Slovakia. The new prosecutor general, Dr. Boehm, then appointed to office the highest military prosecutor of Czechoslovakia, Colonel Dr. Rudolf Tomasovic.

This was announced at today's press briefing for domestic and foreign journalists by Michael Zantovsky, press secretary of the president of the republic.

Prosecutor Discusses Rehabilitation, Prosecution

LD0802123690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] A news conference making use of relay technology took place today in Prague and Bratislava with representatives of the federal and national offices of the prosecutor general. The subjects were the current tasks of the Czechoslovak prosecutor's office in a legal state and within a democratic society. Sona Jesenska reports:

[Jesenska] CSSR Prosecutor General Dr. Tibor Boehm spoke to journalists after 30 hours in office. He described the renewal of the trust in and credibility of the prosecutor's office as the first task. He noted that in the past it had a share in the decline in morality because it did not prosecute crimes of abuse of jurisdiction and punished political conviction. Mr. Boehm expressed the view that the organs of the prosecutor's office and the whole judiciary must be depoliticized and that their representatives should be without political affiliation.

He sees the second path to renwal in the complete righting of the wrongs of the past, which date back to the year 1948. In this connection he said:

[Begin Boehm recording] While I was still in the office of prosecutor general of the Slovak Socialist Republic I set up a special commission which started work on 1 February 1990. It consists of officials who have hitherto not done such work—that is, they did not work in these sectors and committees in investigating the legality of decisions.

As far as the civil rights sector is concerned, the situation is partially complicated by the fact that according to the present legal system it is only possible to correct miscarriages of justice going back three years. Recently we formed the opinion that it would be appropriate to resolve this by issuing a new law on rehabilitation which is being prepared and which should solve questions of both criminal and civil cases.

At the same time I would like to announce that I have already given instructions. We have prepared conditions for the establishment of a special commission for the investigations of these matters, these illegal matters, and the correction of such matters, also within the framework of the federal general prosecutor's office. This commission should be constituted and begin its activity, if there are no complications, on 15 February this year. [end recording]

[Jesenska] Journalists asked questions about specific cases—for example, whether the judges and prosecutors who took part in the fates of Mr. Havel, Carnogursky, and other people will be investigated. In the view of Mr. Boehm, they will not, for it is in the interest of fulfilling the ideas of an ethical revolution which proclaims love and forgiveness.

The question of the lapse of criminal responsibility of people for the entry of Soviet troops in 1968 met with great interest. The prosecutor general had had consultations with theoreticians of criminal law on this problem some time ago. So far their views differ and therefore they are not final. When it is solved it will be published to satisfy justice, morality, and history.

News Conference on Communist Party Draft Program

LD0602203890 Prague CTK in English 1840 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 6 (CTK)—A press conference of Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Jiri Machalik and members of a commission working out a new party program took place here today.

Referring to a new Communist Party draft program, Jiri Machalik said that preparations culminate for setting up the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia which is desirable from the point of view of pluralistic tendencies.

In Czechoslovakia there are now more than 80 political parties, various groups and associations. It is very difficult to find one's own identity in this variety of activities and programs, Machalik stated.

He stressed that the new program of the Czechoslovak Communist Party will be an open one adequately responding to the needs of the present. While elaborating it lessons and experience of communist and socialist parties in the east and the west will be taken into consideration so that the Czechoslovak Communist Party can participate in the shaping of social certainties in an optimum way, Jiri Machalik pointed out.

Emphasized in the program will be the aspects of the mission and character of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, social policy and ecology, economy, the party's role in the political system, spiritual life etc.

Speakers at the press conference pointed out that the party wants to be an open modern left wing one which means that its draft program will be consulted not only with party bodies but also with left wing and democratic streams in those organizations which will show their interest.

Economic Department Head on CPCZ Property

AU0702102190 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 26 Jan 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Eng Petr Rosecky, head of the Economic Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, by Stanislava Stiborova; place and date not given: "The Star-Decorated Purse; What Is the Property of the Communist Party in Prague, and What is Not?; Functionaries on the Move; New Use of Premises Being Considered"]

[Excerpts] The political changes in our country, the undreamt-of explosion of civic awareness, the abolition of the monopoly of a single ruling party—all this is making even the citizens of Prague ask aloud questions they used to speak of only in whispers. These include questions about the property of the Communist Party. We therefore put the most frequently asked questions to Eng Petr Rosecky, head of the Economic Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ].

[Stiborova] How large are the party's assets now and where do they come from?

[Rosecky] The CPCZ's current resources amount to almost 14 million korunas and they come, quite simply, from the Communists' membership dues.

[Stiborova] And what about the buildings that the various CPCZ bodies dispose of?

[Rosecky] The vast majority of them belong to the state, they were lent to the Communist Party for its extended use. They are still administered by national committees.

[Stiborova] Will you reveal to us the facts about so-called state subsidies for new construction projects?

[Rosecky] There is no secret here. The new construction or renovation projects were financed out of CPCZ resources; after completion they were transferred, free of charge, to the state; and the party's costs were partly reimbursed from state funds. [passage omitted]

[Stiborova] How large will the party's city district committees be, and who will "provide for" their functionaries?

[Rosecky] The committees will have an average staff of about 13 paid political workers; they will go over to total self-financing, handling 70 percent of the funds obtained from membership dues (as you know, the remaining 30 percent will remain in the party organizations). They should also try to develop business activities.

[Stiborova] What does the term "business activities" cover, in this instance?

[Rosecky] There are various possibilities, for instance production cooperatives, enterprises providing services to the population, and so forth. Moreover, the city district committees have at their disposal certain parts of the party's property, such as cars—so why not use them for business activities? [passage omitted]

[Stiborova] In other words, the party's property in Prague does not include any buildings?

[Rosecky] But it does—for instance, the building now under construction in Prague 7, which was to have served the district committee, and also the practically completed building in Liben for the district committee in Prague 8. The final accounts for these projects have not yet been closed. We would like to sell the building under construction for its estimated value. The building in Liben would remain party property, but would serve all Prague citizens. [passage omitted]

[Stiborova] But the citizens of Prague are also speaking of party villas....

[Rosecky] They are state property. For instance, the Hadovka Villa in Prague 6 serves as technical backup for the Praha Hotel and its future will have to be dealt with in parallel with that of the hotel. The citizens of Prague will probably be more interested in the Villa Mrazovka in Prague 5, occupied by such former leading party officials as V.Bilak; K.Urbanek is now moving from there into a two-room appartment, but J.Fojtik is still there. The villa will be handed over to the city district's housing enterprise and should revert to the housing stock. The pictures and valuable original works of art will be offered to the National Gallery.

[Stiborova] When will the CPCZ Central Committee leave the building on the quayside, and where will it move?

[Rosecky] It should leave the building sometime in February. However, the furnishing inside the building is estimated at roughly 90 million korunas and belongs to the party. It is not yet quite clear where the Central Committee will move. [passage omitted] The House of Soviet Science and Culture in Rytirska Street was lent to the party for extended use, but two years ago it was decided at government level to transfer it to the USSR in return for similar premises in Moscow. So far this transfer has not taken place, and it is obvious that the issue will have to be dealt with by the government.

[Stiborova] We must not forget the luxurious Praha Hotel....

[Rosecky] Actually, we have two party hotels in Prague—the old one downtown, and the new one in Dejvice. Both belong to the state, but the furnishings inside them belong to the CPCZ. [passage omitted] The new hotel is operating at a loss, and the annual deficit so far amounts to 24 million korunas; according to the estimates, even with the best occupancy rate the losses would still not drop to less than about 12 million korunas. [passage omitted]

Let us add that the new use of the premises formerly lent to the CPCZ has been decided on in three cases, according to information supplied by the Prague

National Committee. [passage omitted] Other cases are still being negotiated, and this includes the building on the quayside. We are currently assessing the demands of the interested parties.

Adamec Solicits Ideas on CPCZ Platform

AU0802145390

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 7 February, pages 1 and 3 carries a 1,100-word statement by Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], entitled "Time To Start Discussion on the CPCZ's Election Program." In the statement, Adamec calls upon party members to open a discussion on the party's program for this year's parliamentary elections, asking them to address their recommendations to the Central Committee or to the party press. He stresses that, in contrast to the past when programs used to be drafted by a narrow group in the center and party members were expected to endorse them, this program must "come from below" and be the party's collective work. Adamec says that this program should be based on the "Action Program" adopted at the Extraordinary CPCZ Congress and on "people's experiences and views." His appeal is addressed not only to party members but to "everyone who sympathizes with the idea of socialism and is aware of its importance for the future of our homeland." He solicits ideas from "leading experts and ordinary citizens alike" on the course of the economic reform, the use of social ownership, price and monetary policy, problems of young people, old-age pensioners, and women, the development of health care, education, culture, science, the foreign political orientation of the country, its security policy, and other issues.

CPCZ National Assembly Deputies 'Recalled'

AU0802171590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Report by Marie Koenigova Daniela Mannova on the 30 January session of the Federal Assembly: "In New Composition"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondents)—[passage omitted] By 30 January, a total of 102 Federal Assembly deputies (42 Chamber of Nations and 60 People's Chamber deputies) had surrendered their mandates. The political parties also made use of the constitutional law on recalling deputies passed a week ago. A total of 35 deputies have been recalled.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] recalled the following deputies on the basis of this law: J. Risko, B. Svestka, M. Sutka, M. Lucan, M. Stancel, Hana Navratova (on health grounds), J. Kalkus, V. Vedra, B. Chnoupek, M. Kubat, M. Vaclavik, and F. Stafa. [passage omitted]

Yesterday's session approved Z. Masopust as chairman of the People's Chamber Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee. Under the preliminary agreement, the CPCZ was also to fill the post of the chairman of the Defense and Security Committee, for which it had recommended M. Soltes, director of the Slovosivo plant in Michalovce. However, shortly before the election M. Soltes announced that he is no longer a member of the Communist Party. The deputies' mixed feelings about his conduct found expression in the vote—38 votes cast against him and 43 abstentions. Finally, he was elected by a margin of only 7 votes.

We asked [first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee] Vasil Mohorita, who after his election as deputy to the Federal Assembly was placed at the head of the Club of Communist Deputies, about the club's future work. He said: First of all, we will have to completely change the style of work to make it match the new standing of our party in parliament. [passage omitted] It will no longer be possible, as has often been the case until now, for the apparatus—be it the parliament, party, or national committee apparatus—to do anything for deputies.

The club must no longer act as the "extended arm" of the CPCZ Central Committee but must be a venue of real discussions, on the basis of which our deputies will assume their stand. [passage omitted]

Finance Minister Klaus Interviewed on Economy

AU0902112990 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 7 Feb 90 p 3

[Interview with Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus by Jiri Leschtina and Jindrich Stepanek; place and date not given: "Tidings From a Humble Economist"]

[Text] [MLADA FRONTA] Undoubtedly, you are one of the government members who is basking in the sunlight of interest from the general public which, until now, had been programmatically put to sleep by the uniform dullness of the previous decades' politicians. You are one of the rewarding subjects for domestic journalists who describe you as a minister who conveys Job's tidings with disarming charm. But to Western reporters, used to many things, you are a noteworthy financial expert who will endeavor to lead us rapidly toward a Western-type economy. "Komarek is not a supporter of such radical reforms as is, for instance, Klaus," declared an American television commentator recently. What do you think, Minister Klaus?

[Klaus] You know, I would not dramatize any personal differences too much, particularly in this government which is composed of people with the most varied pasts. Some of them have been driving around in 613's [Tatra limousines] for a long time, others—like myself—have never done this. Some went to special shops, others—like myself—have no idea where such shops are. We each have different experiences in life, we each feel things differently. A generation gap also divides us. Because a social science dialogue was never conducted in our country and because, inevitably, people created concepts for themselves, concepts not tried and tested by the market—in this case, of course, the market of ideas and the market of criticism—and, naturally, we also have different economic philosophies. Understandably, this also concerns ideas about the progressive manner of economic changes.

[MLADA FRONTA] So, right away we come to one of the most discussed issues. Does our sick economy need a step by step cure or shock therapy?

[Klaus] I think a question posed in this way is, from the very beginning, a false problem. What are people thinking of when they speak of shock therapy? For some of our enterprises—for years staying out of the wind and closely protected from any breeze—it was already a shock that we merely altered course. But other energetic steps in a leading toward a market economy must follow quickly. At the same time, it is crystal clear that we cannot convert the economy from one type to another overnight. This is simply because in our economy, which is made up of massive monopolies, such a thing is impossible. We are not superbeings who can introduce market relations out of the blue, whereas in normal societies they have been established for centuries. Whoever claims such a thing is possible is a charlatan. The question is not, therefore, a shock or no shock. The question is how to correctly determine individual reform steps so that they are not directed toward a void. In economics we have a nice term—credibility. This means faith in something. This involves, first and foremost, making sure that our reform steps are credible.

[MLADA FRONTA] As we are already talking about faith: In RUDE PRAVO on 22 January a spokesman for the Democratic Forum of Communists expressed a lack of faith in your decision to devalue the koruna by 18.6 percent against freely convertible currencies. He defined this step as a cure worse than the illness itself and as an underestimation of inflation which could easily end in economic collapse.

[Klaus] Naturally, I read this article and Deputy Minister Pavelka drafted our point of view on it. A reply has been written but RUDE PRAVO is taking rather a long time to publish it. However, I would like to point out that inflation has a whole series of internal and external economic causes and one of the multitude of factors for these reflexes may be something associated with the already-mentioned devaluation of the koruna. Ordinarily, this is a very small reflex which is negligible in comparison with whether there will be a budget surplus or deficit, if the bank will release too much credit into the economy, and so on. It is necessary to seek the main causes of inflation here. What RUDE PRAVO did is offensive, taking something out of context and saying nothing about the nature of the overall problem.

[MLADA FRONTA] The concept of inflation has long since been abused in our propaganda as a means of scaring the population without the substance of this phenomenon being objectively explained. Is it not high time to say something definitive about this?

[Klaus] Inflation is a vitally important topic for me. I wrote my doctoral thesis on the very topic of inflation. My first published article, which I wrote in 1966 with my current adviser, T. Jezek, appeared in KULTURNI TVORBA and was entitled "Fear of Inflation." The main cause and starting point for inflation is always an imbalance between supply and demand. In a state with inflexible prices, as in our case, this phenomenon manifests itself in several ways. Part of the imbalance is manifested as overt inflation when it is enough to increase prices and the imbalance between supply and demand disappears. Then we have covert inflation when prices rise somewhat strangely and disproportionately while the quality of products increases imperceptibly or not at all and only the packaging changes. No one in the world has yet fathomed this inflation. Finally, there is stifled inflation when a gap appears between supply and demand but prices, for various reasons, do not react to it. In each case it is necessary to comprehend inflation as an economic evil which we must prevent at all costs.

[MLADA FRONTA] But how are we to exorcise this evil under the conditions of our deficit economy? We see where inflation is heading in Poland and Yugoslavia....

[Klaus] Our main weapon must be, as is the case for everywhere else in the world, a balanced budget policy. This on the one hand, and monetary policy on the other. The Ministry of Finance and representatives of the Czechoslovak State Bank are aware of the fact that the fundamental axis of our further activity must be an anti-inflation policy. On this point I would like to refer to last year's very unfavorable results in budgetary management when revenue for the state budget grew much more slowly than planned, while expenditure, acutely contrary to the plan, increased. Thus, there was an unprecedented deficit in the budget which amounted to five and a half billion korunas, and it is possible to assume that during the so-called supplementary period, when some other investments will be implemented, the overall deficit from last year's state budget will reach roughly 10 billion korunas. At the same time, the state budget for 1990, as approved by the former government on 30 November last year, was also a deficit budget and its acceptance would have led to the unleashing of inflationary development in the Czechoslovak economy. Understandably, we rescinded this budget immediately, asked the Federal Assembly to adopt a provisional budget, and we are preparing a new budget concept which will have a significant anti-inflation character. As opposed to the past, we are drafting a surplus budget for 1990 as our main anti-inflation instrument. A surplus budget means that expenditure will be less than revenue. When I say this to our partners they merely sigh.

[MLADA FRONTA] Excuse us, but we also have to sigh. Obviously, you have all succumbed to the illusion that you are wizards.

[Klaus] There is no illusory sorcery behind this. There is simply a specific and restrictive financial policy being manifested in strict budget cuts. At the moment, I am unable to give any precise figures and amounts as everything is at the bargaining stage. Generally, we have to intercede in so-called nonproductive expenditure, in which expenditure on the Army and security is primarily focused. Meanwhile, the question remains of to what extent we will succeed in making savings in the population's social consumption, consumption defrayed from the state budget. Last year this increased by 6.6 percent, which is far more than was received by the growth in national income and by the increase in the state budget's revenue. It goes without saying that there will be clear and fundamental cuts in the subsidies exhausted by enterprises and various other institutions from the state budget.

[MLADA FRONTA] Could it not happen, however, that after a fundamental attack on subsidies, we will have a surplus budget but, at the same time, ruined state enterprises?

[Klaus] Obviously, ruined is a strong word. Of course, we are not cutting organization's subsidies by 100 percent in one fell swoop. Enterprises would find it difficult to get themselves out of this situation. Naturally, we will restrict subsidies gradually. I personally am in favor of far more radical interventions than the ministerial offices are willing to accept at this stage. So, the next few weeks will be a tense period of bargaining and speculation about how far we can go without threatening the very existence of our economic entities.

[MLADA FRONTA] Some economists warn that when the state intervenes in subsidies enterprises want to regain their missing resources by increasing prices.

[Klaus] The dream of every monopolist throughout the world is to be able to determine prices. We will not swallow this bait from our organizations. An antisubsidy policy must be accompanied by breaking our enterprises' monopoly position so that they are simply incapable of high-handedly changing prices. The manufacturer does not determine prices, the market does. Therefore, we are also saying that the state budget in its new concept—in addition to being anti-inflationary—must have conversion characteristics. These will initiate the process of converting the Czechoslovak economy to a market economy.

[MLADA FRONTA] If, from the point of view of the economy, the best price is the price established by the market, i.e. through a freely made agreement, then the Federal Price Office designed for the purpose of simulating this price is superfluous. On the other hand, one of the former directors of this office, recently said categorically: We will not let the price-setting out of our hands! What opinion are you inclined to adopt?

[Klaus] I insist on the fact, of course, that the price is always a product of the market and cannot be forcibly imposed by anyone else. But I disapprove of the idea that, as you have said, the price is established by an agreement on the market. This agreement must be understood in today's conditions like this: Two monopolistic enterprises agree upon a price so that the customer always ends up the loser. I keep repeating that prices are only as good as the market itself, and a good market is what we need to cultivate and care for. To enrich the market structure means that we will let competition in—home and foreign competition alike. In such a mixed economy, even the Price Office has to be modified. It will become an antimonopoly office and will check that enterprises do not implement an arbitrary price policy. With the improvement of market conditions we can also lift the price control. In my opinion, some socialist countries made the mistake of lifting the price control in an absolutely imperfect monopolistic market structure. I think that the impact of such an action—as it happened, for example, in Poland—should constitute sufficient warning for us.

[MLADA FRONTA] So, we are talking about the same thing as before—that is, the proper sequence of reform steps.

[Klaus] Yes, and this is exactly the magic of the art of reform. All of us know that we should have right prices, a demonopolized market, free competition, and a correct budget. What is disputed, however, is what should be done sooner and what later. I very often hear that, first of all, the economic management must be decentralized. But the idea that we have a strong center here with almighty planners standing against weak enterprises is misleading to say the least. The contrary is true. We have strong enterprises and weak planners. Take for example the nuclear reactor production. It would be fictitious to think that the government controls this decision. The fact is that it is the powerful Skoda enterprise that makes the decisions, which makes the government terribly unhappy. Politically influential monopolies in the past became acccustomed to making arbitrary price calculations which were then presented to the Price Office. The Office was unable to refuse the suggestions in 29 percent of cases. The monopolies would, of course, like to continue this policy. That is why today the powerful economic giants dream about nothing other than a decentralization strategy. They are luring us into a reformist trap in which the weakened center would be unable to maintain an equilibrium in our economy. That is why for us the most important thing is the demonopolization strategy. Man is monopolistic by disposition—in his private life, politics, and economy. That is why our primary and permanent goal will be to crush any monopolistic tendencies or a striving for domination.

[MLADA FRONTA] This implies that a number of unpopular measures will have to be undertaken. The government mandate—and that is also yours—lasts until the elections. What will happen then?

[Klaus] I do not want to speculate on what will happen to me after the elections. I feel that it is necessary to risk one's own neck without a compromise and not to undertake some false and popular policy within the framework of a wait-and-see strategy. It is simply not possible to withhold the economic reform until the elections. Everyone would have to pay for this. As far as development is concerned, I believe that the next government will also respect the basic economic laws. And if this government should desire to raise our national economy to the level of Western economies, such a government will continue with the reforms we have begun. No, I am not guided by excessive self-confidence, but by an immense humbleness in the face of the science of economics.

Klaus on 'Demonopolization' at Economic Forum

AU0802171390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Feb 90 p 4

[CTK report: "Demonopolization—The Chief Task; Vaclav Klaus on Transition Toward Market Economy"]

[Text] Davos (CTK correspondent)— In his address at the World Economic Forum in Davos on Saturday [3 February], CSSR Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus spoke about questions concerning the transition of the Czechoslovak economy toward a market economy.

Speaking before a packed hall, he stressed that legislative changes will be adopted in Czechoslovakia in the subsequent period enabling various forms of ownership of the means of production to operate next to each other. At the same time, he expressed concern lest the reforms under preparation in the economy wind up in a blind alley—for example, because of an incorrect choice of the sequence of reform steps.

"The chief task is not decentralization, but, above all, demonopolization," Minister V. Klaus said. In this connection, he called attention to the fact that the easing of centralism in other East European countries has not produced sufficient success. As the main cause of this, he cited a mistaken monetary and financial policy and the poor management of reform measures.

Vaclav Klaus went on to familiarize the politicians, entrepreneurs, and journalists present with the main features of the Czechoslovak concept of transition toward a market economy. It will involve a radical and painful reduction of the state budget. In the foreseeable future the Government will submit the principles of its antimonopoly policy and take measures in support of the private sector, to permit its competitiveness on the free market. The price system will evolve from this, as it should not take shape in the reverse order [before the dismantling of monopolies and the creation of a competitive private sector].

Work of National Front Bodies Transferred

LD0802205690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Representatives of political parties and social organizations agreed in Prague today to end the work of the bodies of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee under the form and title hitherto in effect. At the same time, they decided that this assembly should for a certain period take over the organizational, economic, and professional tasks of the bodies of the National Front Central Committee. The work of the assembly and its other needs will be carried out by the current apparatus of the National Front Central Committee, until the establishment of a new organization is set up according to the law on assembly in social organizations, currently being drawn up. The purpose of the assembly would be to contribute to seeking and finding ways toward a democratic and humanistic society through dialogue and free exchange of views of all participating political parties and social organizations, social and interest groups, civic initiatives and movements. The main principles of its activity would be openness of the assembly to all organizations, voluntarism, equality, independence, collective approach, and the principle of democratic consensus.

The representatives of political parties and social organizations were also briefed on the amendment to the remunerations of members of the apparatus of political parties and social organizations, which is being drafted. They familiarized themselves with the list of new political parties, organizations, movements, and initiatives, and heard the report on the progress in political and civic rehabilitation of the employees of the apparatus of the National Front Central Committee. [Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1730 GMT on 7 February in a similar report specifies that the above-mentioned employees who are to be rehabilitated are those who were "obliged to leave the National Front's organizations after 1968-69."]

Roundtable Participants Issue Statement

AU0802132790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Feb 90 p 3

["Joint Statement Issued by Participants at the Roundtable"—in Prague on 31 January]

[Text] The fundamental issues of social life discussed at consultations of the most important political forces are resolved by means of agreements reached at these talks.

The roundtable talks have led to positive results in forming a government, in reconstructing parliament, and in preparing essential political decisions.

At present, fundamental changes are taking place at the lower levels of management, especially in supplementing representative bodies.

Social pressure for change is—justifiably—very strong, but this also often literally leads to the proper course of local administration being endangered, to illegalities, or to decisions and changes which do not have a legal basis.

It is becoming absolutely essential in districts—or as the case may be, in towns and villages—that roundtables of political parties also be established, meaning roundtables of movements already in existence or registered in accordance with the law on political parties.

Participants in consultations at the roundtables should direct their representatives at lower levels toward analogous agreements with the aim of achieving necessary changes and of guaranteeing the proper and democratic functioning of local administration. This is particularly necessary for creating all the conditions required to prepare for the elections.

National Committee deputies must always be supplemented at the same time as they are recalled from their posts.

Panel Suggests Press Run Allocation Changes

AU0902105690 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Apropos Newsprint"]

[Text] Prague—Based on a recommendation from the most important political forces, which met at the roundtable on 31 January, a meeting of experts took place in Prague yesterday on possibilities for the new allocation of printing capacities and newsprint for the production of central and regional daily newspapers, evening newspapers, and essential political periodicals. After a mutual exchange of views, the meeting's participants agreed to immediately satisfy demand by increasing the individual press run of the dailies LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, SVOBODNE SLOVO, MLADA FRONTA, and several others at the expense of reducing RUDE PRAVO's press run. In view of the fact that representatives from the Pravda Press Combine did not participate in the meeting, a solution to this situation in the Slovak Socialist Republic was not reached. At the same time, they concluded that they will prepare a proposal for a new method of dealing with the production of the most important political forces' periodicals, a method which should come into effect on 1 April 1990. This proposal, an element of which will be a solution to the disparity in allocating newsprint between the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic, will be submitted for a decision to representatives of the most important political forces at the roundtable.

The meeting also recommended to the CSSR Government that it deal with the series of issues associated with completing the reconstruction and modernization of paper production in the SEPAP [North Bohemian Paper Works] State Enterprise in Steti nad Labem.

Constituent Meeting of 'Free Democrats' Reported

AU0702151790 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 2 Feb 90 p 1, 2

["rd"-signed report: "A Purely Coincidental Resemblance?"]

[Excerpts] Is the resemblance purely coincidental, we asked at the rally of the Party of Free Democrats [Strana svobodnych demokratu] in the Zofin hall in Prague, referring to the party's symbols, which are the same as those of the West German Free Democratic Party (FDP). "You can rule the coincidence out," said Engineer J. Tuma, a member of the party's preparatory committee. "We even regard the FDP as our partner." What is the aim of your gathering, in fact? we asked again. "We are constituting ourselves as a new political party. We have already applied for registration and are now in the process of collecting the necessary 1,000 signatures. [passage omitted] We will be a liberal party, a party of the center. We want to emphasize professionalism, realism, and seriousness in politics and attend to ethics, education, and culture. We will support initiative and entrepreneurship in an endeavor to renew people's attitude to business as a source of prosperity and social security." [passage omitted]

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AU0702151790 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 2 Feb 90 p 1, 2

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Local Government Elections Set for Nov

LD0802162490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Representatives of key political forces along with a group of federal government experts held a discussion today about the character of the future system of local representative bodies and about elections to them. They agreed, among other things, that it is necessary to substantially strengthen the self-government of towns and villages and recommended that elections to local representative bodies be held on 23 and 24 November this year. They furthermore recommended the abolition of regional national committees and the reduction of the number of deputies in local and district national committees. The participants also discussed variants of electoral systems for elections to representative bodies but have failed as yet to reach a consensus on this issue.

Communist Party for Bohemia, Moravia Considered

AU0802162190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Jan 90 pp 1,3

[Interview with Jiri Machalik, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee secretary, by Robert Dengler; place and date not given: "The Time Has Come for a Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia To Be Established"]

[Excerpts] [Dengler] Comrade secretary, at the extraordinary congress the possibility and necessity of founding a Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia was discussed. Later, fragmentary reports gave the impression that something was being done about this in supreme organs and that ordinary members will be presented with a fait accompli. What is happening? Is this issue expedient?

[Machalik] The endeavor to found a new territorial organization truly corresponds to the congress' conclusions. Of course, it is absolutely necessary to come up with a definite concept—that is, with an idea. Not in any way with a decision, but with a discussion proposal for the general membership base. An organization under the working name Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia is not only intended to make the political system in the Czech Socialist Republic equal but is also intended to mean a departure from democratic centralism and from the rigid directive style of management from Prague. This opens up scope for the membership base's activity.

[Dengler] Would the abolition of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] and regulating the assymetry in this way not be a solution?

[Machalik] From the point of view of our federal arrangement, this is entirely unrealistic. After all, in our pluralist system a number of political parties operate only in Slovakia. Therefore, logically, the CPSL also has an irreplaceable position there. Leaving aside the fact that its existence depends on the will of our Slovak comrades, the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia would operate with the same aim in the Czech lands. Above these organizations should be a small coordinating organ which will determine relations with state organs, with the leadership of nationally operating parties, foreign policy negotiations, and so on.

[Dengler] What about the CPCZ [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] Central Committee—will its members "disappear" and the apparatus remain? Does the secretary not have any worries about his job?

[Machalik] After the new party has been founded, logically, a republican Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia Central Committee will be established. The question of today's CPCZ Central Committee will then be resolved at the 18th CPCZ Congress. In order to embrace the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia and the CPSL, a small—for instance, 24-member—executive committee will be sufficient. This committee will coordinate and prepare fundamental business such as, for example, the 18th congress. The present large 140-member committee with elected representatives from each district will assist in the pre-election campaign and in the elections within the framework of the districts. The scheduled congress can then dissolve it. As far as my post is concerned, there will always be enough work. [passage omitted]

[Dengler] On what material basis is the new organization to evolve?

[Machalik] At the moment, this issue is being very carefully analyzed by working groups. The draft program will be submitted to the CPCZ Central Committee Executive Committee on 10 February and immediately afterwards the district and primary organizations will be receive it for discussion. We have already received dozens of proposals for the newly conceived party's program.

[Dengler] However, is an election program for the whole party being formulated at the same time?

[Machalik] Yes. This will be very short and specific whereas the long term document has to be of a more general concept and far more substantial. However, both proceed from the CPCZ's status as one of many political parties. We respect the principle of equal rights and obligations. At the same time, however, our program will reflect some dangerous factors that are becoming apparent in our society's development. We will try to create a platform which should make support possible for the program regardless of political or other appurtenance.

[Dengler] Does this involve, then, creating conditions for consensus on our society's left wing?

[Machalik] Yes. While looking backwards and forwards, the principle is sincere admission of mistakes, errors, and shortcomings, and distancing ourselves from past deformations. At the same time, it is impossible to forget all the positive results or to overlook the possible negative consequences of the transfer to a market economy; I have in mind solutions made to the detriment of the working people. Therefore, we want the general public to become familiar with our intentions and program documents, and to be able to adopt a point of view on them. We concur, as Communists, in the necessity of establishing a program corresponding to the end of the 20th century and to the beginning of the 21st century. Incidentally, the party came up with elements of such an approach in 1968 but the subsequent leadership unequivocally rejected these proposals. [passage omitted]

Proposal To End Visas for CSCE States, U.S.

LD0802140690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1300 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] The GDR Foreign Ministry has proposed to all West and North European CSCE states, as well as Yugoslavia, the United States, and Canada, that agreement be reached with the GDR on dispensing completely with visas. The draft of such an agreement has already been handed over, a press statement says. It is also proposed to dispense, on the basis of mutuality, with proof of hard currency and confirmed reservations for the return journey home.

USSR's Falin Cited on German Unification

LD0802231490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2125 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—For the USSR, the unification of the German nation in the foreseeable future is a realistic fact, Valentin Falin, Soviet Germany expert and adviser to CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, has said. During a panel discussion of the Party of Democratic Socialism in the Karl-Liebknecht-Haus in Berlin today, he said that the unification of the two German states should only take place, however, when conditions acceptable to the European nations have been created.

Falin pointed out that the unification is taking place at a geostrategically sensitive point in Europe. Neither the United States nor the USSR will allow a united Germany to be a member of the other's military pact. He believes that it is also unrealistic for this unified German state to be neutralized. What is needed is to establish throughout Europe a state of mutual nonaggression capability through appropriate arms limitation and disarmament measures.

Falin called for an appropriate pace for the process of drawing closer that had started, because a united Germany would touch on the still unhealed wounds of World War II, not only among the peoples of the USSR but also in other parts of Europe. "Whoever wants German unity must fight against the factors that have led to the present situation," Falin stressed. It would have been better not to have divided Germany after World War II and also not to have introduced separate currencies. From the historical point of view, the victorious Western powers have a debt to pay.

Wall To Be Dismantled at Brandenburg Gate

LD0802193490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1630 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The Wall at the Brandenburg Gate is to be pulled down and replaced with a fence. The hammers and chisels of the "Wall packers" have seriously threatened the stability of the concrete segments, Major-General Dieter Teichmann, deputy commander and chief of staff of the GDR Border Troops, says in the latest edition of the newspaper VOLKSARMEE.

Although the West Berlin police had been asked to take the necessary steps, the situation is unchanged. [passage omitted on Wall paintings]

The deputy commander of the GDR Border Troops pointed to the basic alterations of structure, training, and equipment that had also become unavoidable for his troop units in the wake of the change in the GDR. For example, heavy equipment, including armored personnel carriers, which the Central Command [Kommando Mitte] had possessed, had already been removed from the inventory and partially scrapped. From last November to 27 January the Border Troops had been reduced by almost 15,000 men through various measures. [passage omitted]

Luft Discusses Currency Union With FRG

LD0802213690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1917 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—The offer by the Federal Government to start negotiations on founding a currency union between the two German states is naturally being taken up, and will be a focal point of the meeting between Premier Hans Modrow and Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn next week. GDR Deputy Premier Christa Luft announced this today at the start of the international conference on the German question.

This proposal, the full details of which have not yet been made known to the GDR Government, creates a completely new political situation, she said. In her opinion, an immediate currency union without an appropriate treaty-based community would make the GDR's integration into the FRG a fait accompli. With such an action, first of all, the political, economic, and social connections and consequences must be made clear so that all political parties, associations, and trade unions can participate in developing objectives. While above all, politicians in the FRG and GDR are in favor of a speedy introduction of the Deutsche mark in the GDR, banking and economic experts prefer a gradual plan.

Professor Luft warned against an "overhasty uniting of the two German states," which would have extremely negative repercussions on the two sides and Europe. "De facto, such a quick unification would only be possible as an integration of the GDR into the FRG. It would be synonymous with the FRG accepting 16 million GDR citizens all in one step." Sober considerations speak for avoiding such a development. It is difficult enough to manage to steer a planned process of growing together, because it is a question of growing together. "For this, the federal president and Willy Brandt have found the formulation that has in the meantime actually been accepted by all those involved: to grow together but not to run wild together [zusammenwachsen, aber nicht zusammenwuchern]. And the GDR premier has warned against nailing together."

A general stabilization is the priority. The tasks mainly consist of consolidating the economy in the shortest space of time, by using all sources available both at home and abroad, to give it fresh impetus for growth and achieve a link to international competitiveness. The GDR has a good position in the markets of CEMA states. It is the center of Europe and must be used purposefully for the development of a bridging function between East and West. "At the same time, we proclaim our great interest in economic aid from the Federal Republic to launch us," Christa Luft stressed.

The minister proposed forming a political consultative committee equally composed of members from the two countries, chaired by the heads of government of the FRG and the GDR, which could function as the highest body of the treaty-based community being aimed for under the title German Council. This body should discuss all issues of fashioning this community and work out relevant recommendations to the governments and parliaments of the two states. A treaty-based community for the creation of an economic, monetary, and social federation would, however, remain incomplete without clear commitments on security policy.

Mrs. Luft suggested that Bonn and Berlin should "develop common ideas for a final settlement within a peace treaty of the issues remaining from the time of the war and postwar period" for the second CSCE summit, planned for the end of this year. If they are successful in winning over all the European states, together with the United States and Canada, for a joint solution of the German question within the framework of the CSCE, this would be the optimum way of not letting German-German dynamism get out of hand in a way unacceptable to other European states. The future European peacetime order would only be lasting if a German federation existed in the middle of the continent that, for the first time in German history, did not define itself in a nationalistic manner, but that understood itself as a functional component of a united Europe.

Bank Chief on Monetary Union

LD0902000290 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 0623 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Interview with Professor Werner Polze, GDR Foreign Trade Bank president, by unidentified correspondent on 7 February; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Federal Chancellor Kohl yesterday urged negotiations over a monetary union between the GDR mark and the FRG Deutsche mark. Do we really need such a monetary union so urgently?

[Polze] Well, I would really say that it is desirable to start such negotiations soon because there is the matter of our currency's convertibility. Of course, the convertibility of a currency depends on various economic preconditions. Currently many of such preconditions have not been met. That means when it comes to cooperations with the FRG, the matter of convertibility might surely be settled more easily through a monetary union rather than a possible solo attempt by us.

[Correspondent] A group of experts headed by Dresden Mayor Berghofer suggested yesterday in Davos the immediate convertibility of the GDR mark. FRG Finance Minister Waigl believes that quick introduction of the Deutsche mark in our country must be made urgently. Which is the actual best variant?

[Polze] I believe, first it must be said that—even if negotiations are started very quickly, that does not mean a solution will be reached quickly. For the issue of the convertibility of a currency or of a monetary union depends on a series of economic factors that would have to be created first, or one would have to start creating them. A quick result cannot be anticipated.

In answer to your question, I would like to add that the introduction of the Deutsche mark in the GDR is something that is not so easy to conceive, for that would mean that the basic conditions for it would have to be created in the GDR by FRG bodies. For example, there is the issue of our money's shortage, the issue of our money circlation's correspondence, or better correspondence with the supply of goods. That means also the issue of removing subsidies and the issue of price increases. I really believe that cannot solely be left to FRG bodies, but that we must play a role in the process.

[Correspondent] What is the impact of such a merger of the two currencies on each of us?

[Polze] First of all, I believe that the wide discussion over currency reform and devaluation of the savings deposits should be reduced. For it is true that, of course, for a currency's convertibility with the FRG, for example, assets and the evaluation of certain assets must be adjusted. When we think of our very high subsidies for rents and rates and other things, then convertibility cannot be established without further ceremony, or only at a very bad rate of exchange. Thus, one must change some things as regards this economic sector. So one must simply assess things differently that exist in our country.

However, that is far from meaning that a monetary reform must now be implemented as a must. Of course, at the end of such a monetary union there will surely be—let me say—at a certain stage a rate of exchange between the two currencies. But at the moment I do not see monetary reform, a currency cut ahead of us.

Berghofer on German Reunification

AU0802151790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Feb 90 p 7

[ADN report: "German Problem Characterizes Davos Economic Summit"]

[Text] Davos (ADN)—The German problem is increasingly characterizing the international economic summit in Davos. In particular, after Premier Modrow's proposals, it has become one of the main topics of this meeting of representatives from international monopolies and banks, representatives of large and medium-sized enterprises, as well as politicians and scientists.

On Friday afternoon [2 February] during a panel discussion, Dresden Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer said that the situation in the GDR is extremely serious. The economy is threatened by a collapse, and the unification of the two German states will take place much earlier than politicians in East and West imagine. Modrow's plan, too, does not take time into consideration. The existence of two states is already history; the issue now is the period of time involved.

Efficient intra-German and European cooperation and an economic community are on the agenda, not gifts, the mayor said. The GDR joining the international market economy division of labor, and help in order that we can help ourselves are the most necessary things. Berghofer advocated a pragmatic concept of actions, permanent working groups of the two German states, the establishment of a currency union, and the replacement of the GDR currency by the Deutsche mark. First steps have to become visible this year in order to stop the ongoing exodus of GDR citizens to the FRG.

Berghofer, who also commented on the upcoming elections, made it clear that he adopts clear positions on the central questions of the social-democratic program. He will not run for any office on 18 March or at the local elections.

Estimated 3,000 March for Unity in Gera

LD0802210590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2022 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Gera (ADN)—About 3,000 citizens of Gera today marched through the city center after peace prayers at St. John's Church. As in previous weeks, the march was characterized mainly by black, red, and gold flags; in addition, there was the white and red flag of the Land of Thuringia. Again and again shouts and chants such as "Germany, united fatherland" and "Black, red and gold—we are one people" echoed.

Gysi Views Unification, Currency Union

LD0802144790 Hamburg DPA in German 1414 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The unification of the two German states is, in the view of Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Party for Democratic Socialism, "a historic, inexorable process." In an interview broadcast today with the left-wing alterantive "Radio 100" in West Berlin, Gysi advocated first of all a confederation of the two states, which could then become one state in the framework of a European confederation. "More important than neutrality is the demilitarization of the two republics," the chairman of the former powerful state party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, said.

Gysi criticized immediate introduction of a currency union. This would lead to social problems, which the two states cannot afford. But he can envision a partial convertibility of the two currencies very soon and in the foreseeable future a full convertibility as well.

Editorial Views Modrow's Unity Plan

AU0902112890 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 3-4 Feb 90 p 2

[Hans-Joerg Heims editorial: "The Question Now Is How"]

[Text] "The two German states will be unified in the borders of 1945. How and when this will be done, nobody can tell. However, we should be thinking in terms of months rather than years."

Only several hours after Professor Arnulf Barning from West Berlin had said this at a Forum for Germany in West Berlin, Prime Minister Hans Modrow presented his ideas about unification. Now the last doubting Thomas should be aware that the question is no longer whether, but how the German division should be overcome. Modrow's phased plan is an initial concrete approach that has, of course, grown from the tense domestic policy situation. The pressure from below, the increasing uncertainty among the people, extremism at demonstrations, and the continuing wave of emigration require action.

Now a possible road has been suggested leading to a goal that is being advocated by increasing majorities. The intention is to encourage the people to stay and to stop the feeling of resignation that is spreading in enterprises and administrations. Now reforms such as the creation of land structures must be quickly implemented.

The fact that Modrow submitted his plan only two days following his return from the USSR, makes it clear that the German question was the topic of talks in Moscow. Modrow will have pointed out to Gorbachev the incalculable consequences of the USSR's possible refusal. However, Moscow has stressed its existing security interests in Central Europe. Therefore, a unified Germany must be militarily neutral.

For the moment, this goes, of course, beyond the ideas of Western politicians. However, expanding NATO to the East would harm the political and military balance on this continent. It is incompatible with efforts to overcome thinking along the lines of blocs. And that is the point when we talk about the necessity time and again of unifying Germany—however, only in the framework of European integration.

Modrow Notes 'Responsibility' for Nazi Past

LD0802190290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1828 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On the occasion of the upcoming 45th anniversary of the smashing of Hitler's fascism, Hans Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, gave a statement on the responsibility of the entire German people for the past. It is an expression of the process of democratization in the GDR based on antifascism, cosmopolitan attitudes, international friendship, and the respecting of human rights.

This step follows up the statement on the 50th anniversary of the fascist pogrom night, passed by the special session of the GDR People's Chamber. It is in accordance with the constructive and trusting dialogue on overcoming the past that will be conducted with Jewish organizations based in the United States, as well as the establishment of diplomatic relations that is being worked toward with the State of Israel.

The statement was sent both to the Jewish World Congress and the Government of Israel. It has the following text:

"The GDR acknowledges the responsibility of the entire German people for the past. This is a result of the deep guilt of Hitler fascism that committed the most serious crimes against the Jewish people in the name of the German people. The GDR stands unchanged by its obligation to do everything against racism, Nazism, anti-Semitism, and racial hatred so that in the future, too, never again shall war and fascism but only peace and international understanding emanate from German soil.

"The GDR has completely fulfilled its obligations under international law from the Potsdam Agreement. It recognizes its humanitarian obligations to the Jewish survivors who suffered under Nazi oppression, and it reaffirms its readiness for solidarity and material support for people of Jewish origins who were persecuted by the Nazi regime."

National Security Office Dissolution 'Inadequate'

LD0802153590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1428 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Council of Ministers decided on Thursday to form a committee to dissolve the former Office for National Security.

Werner Fischer, representative of the Initiative Peace and Human Rights at the roundtable and member of the committee, said at the government spokesman's news conference that the approach to date to the dissolution has been worse than inadequate. The view has been reached that the destruction of the security apparat should take place professionally.

The committee would be divided up into several expert areas concerning themselves with the archival system, data, and questions of the dismissal of former employees, among other things. It is a matter of exposing the structure of the secret service.

He does not see the danger of a reorganization but citizens should be watchful. Dr. Georg Boehm, Democratic Peasant Party representative at the roundtable and member of the committee, said that at present data on 6 million citizens is stored in various depots. He proposed the immediate destruction of the electronic data carriers. The other written material should be available to the public prosecutor, the courts, and persons authorized by government representatives. Thd district offices of the former office have been dissolved, the area authorities are due to follow by the end of February or middle of March.

Of the 33,000 employees of the headquarters in Berlin, 17,451 have been dismissed so far. The Ministry of Labor and Wages has been commissioned to concern itself with reintegration.

State Council Calls Elections for 18 Mar

LD0802172990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1702 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Council of State has called the People's Chamber elections for 18 March 1990. The basis for the decision is the People's Chamber resolution of 5 February 1990. The Council of State press office announced this.

The earlier Council of State resolution on holding the People's Chamber elections on 6 May 1990 was lifted.

Spokesman on Council of Ministers Session

LD0802144490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1331 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer, speaking at today's weekly news conference in Berlin, said there was an extensive discussion of the situation in the country at the latest GDR Council of Ministers session. For the first time, the eight ministers, newly elected on Monday [5 February], and an observer from the trade unions took part in the Council of Ministers meeting. There was concern and outrage at the increasing number of bomb threats. It was established that these threats lead to insecurity among the population and to large losses of production.

During a debate on a report from the ARD [First German Television] television program "Kontraste," Interior Minister Lothar Arendt decisively rejected suggestions "that his ministry is continuing the work of the old MFS [Ministry for State Security]," Meyer said. With reference to the press statement published on Wednesday, it is proposed to resolve unanswered questions in talks with the "Kontraste" editors.

The draft of a parties law, the passing of which is on the agenda with particular urgency because of the election date, has been passed to the roundtable for resolving unanswered questions. It is intended to pass the law in first and second readings at the next People's Chamber meeting. The discussion of a draft tax law has been put back by a week, Meyer said.

Further on Session

LD0802150890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1358 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The government has approved rules guaranteeing support and compensation to enterprises while citizens are looking for work. The Cabinet also approved rules granting money for early retirement, government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer announced after today's Council of Ministers session.

The Council of Ministers confirmed the closure of carbochemical plants at Espenhain, Boehlen, Deuben, Rositz and Weba by December 1991 in the interests of reducing pollution. This is the largest extent of closures in heavy industry, Meyer said. The governmental commission responsible has made detailed proposals for the redeployment of and a comprehensive package of social measures for the 6,000 workers affected.

The government put forward proposals on how the money concentrated in the fund for changing money into Deutsch marks for travel can be used for infrastructure, urban renewal, and environmental protection. This is approximate 5 billion marks. The remaining M3 billion will be used as loans to private enterprises, cooperatives, and skilled tradesmen.

Question of Monetary Union

LD0802155190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1459 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The question of a monetary union between the GDR and the FRG was only briefly mentioned in the GDR Council of Ministers session today, government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer said at his weekly news conference. The spokesman said that he assumes that this proposal will be set out officially by Federal Chancellor Kohl at the next meeting with Premier Modrow. For this reason, it is inappropriate now to state the government's position on this. As regards the way in which this proposal was announced, Meyer agreed with representatives of the FRG economy who see these activities within the context of the Bundestag election campaign now under way.

Many citizens ask what has "come over here" since the assurances and agreements in Dresden [during Kohl's visit] on the stabilization of the national economy and the supply situation in the GDR. He did not wish to draw up a balance, Meyer said with reference to the forthcoming talk between Kohl and Modrow, but it seems to him that this balance would not be very positive.

Meyer also gave information on the fact that the government proposed, after controversial discussion and a vote, to limit the duration of the substitute civilian service to 12 months. Originally, 16 months had been envisioned. Following a compromise proposal from Minister Rainer Eppelmann, the Council of Ministers agreed on the new regulation in order to equate the military basic service with the substitute civilian service. The substitute civilian service is due to be implemented with the beginning of the draft in April. [passage omitted]

Meyer also said that the Cabinet discussed neofascist tendencies in the GDR and in this connection greeted the parliamentary decision to ban the Republicans on GDR territory. The fight against neo-Nazi tendencies cannot be only the task of the police but the affair of all democratic forces in the GDR, the spokesman said.

Modrow, Schmidt, Others in Discussion on TV

LD0802224590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2102 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The sympathy that he has among the population is obviously because many understand the fact that someone has assumed responsibility during this complex time for the country, Premier Modrow said in the television discussion this evening in reply to relevant questions from viewers. He is doing this not because he is a member of the party, but he is facing the responsibility as premier and views this as a challenge to a man, a challenge to which he feels committed.

As far as his membership of the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] is concerned, Hans Modrow said that he is not one of those people who simply turned their backs on this party. As far as his candidacy is concerned, the PDS has neither made a decision nor discussed it.

On this subject, Bishop Sterzinsky said that sympathy exists also because the government is obviously actually acting democratically. It is only a question of whether the PDS will also act democratically in its entirety.

On the question of German unity, Premier Hans Modrow said that such a step affects not only the two German states, but also affects Europe and has European dimensions. Here the interests of the other European states must be taken into very careful consideration. Above all it is not a question of a "reunification" ["Wiedervereinigung"].

Helmut Schmidt agreed with this. In his opinion the word "re-" ["wieder"] causes concern for all neighbors of the Germans. Nothing should happen that causes anxiety, particularly to the French or the Poles. But, according to Schmidt, a neural Germany is inconceivable. It would cause concern both in the West and the East.

In this connection, Ingrid Koeppe emphasized the New Forum position on the two German states drawing closer together. Certain prerequisites must be created for this, such as demilitarization, the recognition of the Oder-Neisse border, and the social safeguarding of the population, such as the right to work and to a dwelling. At the same time, the spokeswomen opposed a continued existence for the constitutional protection office in a future united Germany.

A court must decide on the mistakes of Mr. Honecker, that is not a church matter, Bishop Sterzinsky, who is chairman of the Berlin Bishop's Conference of the Catholic Church, said in reply to a question about the housing of the Honecker family in a church establishment. Someone does not lose their human dignity just because they have been charged. It is also for this reason, he'd heard, that the Evangelical Church has granted shelter to Mr. Honecker. However, he does not understand why Honecker's former party is not taking care of his accommodation. Premier Modrow answered that given the prevailing conditions only the church had been able to [offer accommodation]. The family had turned down a state flat. Only the church enjoys the esteem that is respected. [passage omitted]

Modrow Supports Union Law

LD0802225390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2018 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow this evening strongly supported a trade union law. He said that such a law has been submitted to the roundtable and he hopes that the roundtable will back it. Speaking in a roundtable discussion on GDR television, in which former FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Bishop Georg Sterzinsky and Ingrid Koeppe of the New Forum were also taking part, he said that it could then be presented to the People's Chamber at its next session on 20 and 21 February.

The New Forum representative said that the democratization of economic structures has not yet come about. This relates to employees having the right to voice their opinions and the formation of works councils. The only thing that has been put into practice so far is establishing regulations for the creation of joint ventures.

Asked about a future GDR-FRG monetary union, Schmidt said that the lack of clarity should not last any longer, because it is causing uncertainty for the whole economic system withn the GDR. It is urgently necessary, also in the interests of the population, to clarify this in the foreseeable future. [passage omitted]

New Dresden Council Chairman Elected

LD0802195990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1133 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Dresden (ADN)—The Dresden Area Council has a new chairman since Thursday, Dr. Michael Kunze (NDPD) [National Democratic Party of Germany]. He was elected by the plenum of the Area Diet that had released Professor Dr. Wolfgang Sieber (independent/formerly SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]) beforehand. [passage omitted]

More Investigations of Electoral Falsification

LD0802140290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1231 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—More investigative proceedings concerning the suspicion of electoral falsification have been instigated in Berlin. This was reported today by the public prosecutor-general of Berlin and the head of the criminal investigation department of the GDR capital.

They were instigated against Kroschwald and Stranz, former city borough mayors of Mitte and Koepenick [East Berlin] and against several other leading local politicians in Koepenick.

Yesterday investigative proceedings were instigated in the same connection against Hannelore Mensch, former first deputy of the chief mayor, who is currently minister for labor and wages in the Modrow government. Further extensive investigations were necessary following Mrs. Mensch's statements to date.

Council Reaches Accord on Military Doctrine

LD0802141890 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1224 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] A fourth session was held by the national Defense Ministry's consultative council, which is where representatives of 29 parties, organizations, and movements came together to meet GDR Defense Minister Admiral Hoffmann, high-level military officers, and military scientists. The discussion concentrated on one of the military reform's supporting pillars—the GDR's military doctrine. Here is our report by Wolfgang Lehmann:

[Begin Lehmann recording] This was the fourth attempt made by the council to come to an agreement on that weighty subject, which can justly be termed the key military issue. Let me tell you first of all that this time the goal was reached, following four-hour discussions that were constructive and sometimes rather controversial.

A key issue was under discussion inasmuch as concepts regarding the military doctrine matter—which all states and coalitions have given their blessings to in a highly official manner—give good evidence about the purpose, the tasks, and the character of the military tool of power. Under discussion were the attitude toward war, definite statements regarding the preservation of peace, the use or nonuse of employing military power, offensive and defensive concepts, and up to pinpointing the character and the missions of an army.

Certainly, that is a highly political, explosive matter that must also be sanctioned by the Constitution. That is why those participating agreed with the defense minister's proposal that the results elaborated by the consultative council be submitted to the new representative bodies of the people following the March elections.

The contradictory debate over the issue of whether the National People's Army [NVA] should remain a compulsory military service army or become a vocational army indeed demonstrated that the above decision was right. There were several such crossroads, which were in the end settled with formulations leaving undecided several options for the Cabinet.

There was much resoluteness in rejecting speculations with regard to the process of unification by both German states. Today any conclusions arising from such a process with reference to shaping the military scope simply cannot be drawn in advance. Consequently, the realistic decision was made to proceed from the status quo. The rest of the discussion was conducted on the basis of an improved draft, with a variety of participants making their contributions by proposals on amendments and other ideas.

Professor Dr. Scheler, military scientist, who chaired the revision committee, mentioned the following course of thinking in that connection: The statements aimed at preventing war are even stronger. They have been put in line with our concepts regarding disarmament and military trust-building in a better way. Patterns of threat have been eliminated. The debate has fully confirmed these intentions.

With these military policy guidelines—that term was placed in lieu of the strictly scientific term "military doctrine"—I believe some precious work of thoughts has been rendered. That work may certainly be very useful to the newly elected People's Chamber and its subsequent government.

Thereupon, the defense minister read a statement on the NVA's attitude during the October events. He said that the army had neither as a whole nor in part been prepared for an armed operation against demonstrations. Only some units involving about 100 men had been equipped with police tools so as to reinforce the protection of targets, he added. Using firearms was not only prohibited, but almost generally made impossible because weapons had to be deposited. Any reports reading differently were rumors, he stated.

Before long, the consultative council will deal with the GDR's security conception. [end recording]

Voice of GDR Radio Renamed Deutschlandsender

LD0802151890 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Excerpt] In coming days the former Deutschlandsender will resume its work in Berlin. As a result of a motion by the editorial council, a very large majority of the Voice of GDR station employees decided on this last night, with only three absentions and no votes against.

A brief announcement says that, in conjunction with the Modrow plan, the Deutschlandsender intends to pursue with level-headedness and a sense of perspective the course toward German-German unification as part of the European process of unification. [passage omitted] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German at 0938 GMT on 8 February in a Berlin-datelined dispatch reports: "The Voice of GDR radio station is again called Deutschlandsender as of today." It adds: "Director-General Manfred Klein will give the reasons for the renaming in public tomorrow."]

SPD Official Demands Ahrendt's Resignation

LD0802152790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1438 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] (ADN)—Martin Gutzeit, deputy SPD [Social Democratic Party] floor leader and SPD representative at the roundtable, has called on GDR Interior Minister Lothar Ahrendt to resign. This is reported in a statement handed to the press:

Ahrendt had given an assurance to the roundtable that the cameras on the House of Electronics in Berlin "do not serve the observation of any particular people, but solely assess the situation in relation to the police performing their tasks. However, on Tuesday, 6 February 1990, a videotape was played of camera observations of Alexanderplatz on 7 December 1989. The tape was discovered at the Ministry for State Security in Normannenstrasse. The recordings of the demonstration against electoral fraud prove that Interior Minister Ahrendt lied to the roundtable. The cameras on the House of Electronics can swivel, identify individuals in a crowd, and clearly observe them. The SPD's Luxemburg-Liebknecht demonstration on 14 January 1990 was observed. Since December of last year, there are no more direct lines to the Ministry for State Security. However, there is still a direct line, as well as an intercom, to offices at the Interior Ministry. The SPD calls on Interior Minister Lothar Ahrendt to accept the consequences of his false statements to the roundtable and resign. Apart from this, the SPD demands the immediate removal of the observation cameras—wherever they are still installed in the country—in order to guarantee citizens the right of freedom of opinion without being observed.

Draft of PDS Concept for European Policy

AU0902083290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Feb 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "European Policy Draft Concept of the PDS, the Party of Democratic Socialism"]

[Text] As has already been reported, the International Affairs Commission of the Party Executive Board discussed a draft concept for the present and future European policy of the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism]. The publication of this draft is intended to inform all party members and the public about this concept for discussion.

The PDS herewith submits its ideas on the development of Europe beyond the year 2000, and on practical steps to overcome the division of Europe. In this concept, the PDS advocates the following:

—a united Europe with confederative structures;

—a Europe of democracy and human rights;

—the demilitarization of Europe;

—a Europe that essentially contributes to overcoming the global ecological crisis and the exploitation of the people in Africa, Asia, and Latin America;

—a Europe of the working people;

—pan-European integration;

—social, national, and cultural diversity;

—a community [Gemeinsamkeit] of the German nation and the two German states, which is accompanied by, and contributes effectively to, European integration;

—the implementation of national interests, which is only possible on the basis of a European development marked by solidarity.

I. For A Unified Europe!

1. In view of the large democratic changes in Eastern Europe, the internationalization in the West that has considerably advanced, positive changes in East-West relations, and the aggravation of global challenges that is becoming increasingly dangerous, it is urgently necessary for all democratic forces to think about the future of our continent and about its contribution to finding a solution to the problems of mankind, and to jointly embark on democratically legitimized roads.

We are at the beginning of a new era of European relations. With the year 1989, the way of thinking along the lines of a "fortress" both in the East and the West is historically outdated. Europe as a whole will have to prove that it is not only able to preserve the humanist-democratic, pluralist, and antifascist traditions of its nations, as well as solidarity among them, but is also able to develop these traditions as a basis of new social ways of behavior. A first essential step in this direction must be made before the end of 1990. The PDS backs Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal to hold a second meeting of the CSCE heads of state and chiefs of government.

2. Our goal is a unified Europe of national, social, cultural, and regional diversity. The PDS is striving for a demilitarized, modern Europe marked by social, ecological, and cultural progress, without political, economic, and intellectual monopolist structures, a Europe marked by the free self-realization of individuals and by the responsible dealing with nature.

Our vision of Europe is that of a community marked by solidarity, a community of largely democratic societies on our continent. There is no other way to guarantee the future decisive national political, social, economic, ecological, and spiritual-cultural development conditions of the Germans or the other European peoples and nations. These are ambitious goals. Their implementation will be accompanied by difficulties, conflicts, and setbacks. However, these goals are also realistic. The intertwinement of modern societies and economies, and the effects of present and future forces of production and destruction, make the goal of a unified Europe both possible and necessary. Time is pressing substantially.

3. Solving the global problems of mankind is the central task in this epoch. Based on its historical responsibility and its current action, a new Europe must be oriented toward this goal in its future development. Europe is threatening to destroy itself. Together with the other industrial regions of the globe, Europe is threatening to destroy the world. Peace is threatened by stepped-up armament, the militarization of societies, the destruction of the environment by technocratic ways of behavior and by a market that is expanding unchecked, and underdevelopment involving the social consequences of famine, unemployment, homelessness, and the destruction of values. Our continent is the richest of the earth. However, its wealth is based to no small extent on the famine of other nations and the aggravation of global dangers.

Europe must be open to the world. Overcoming the East-West conflict must be accompanied by solving the North-South conflict. The European development requires that other nations and regions are also able to develop. Europe must contribute to establishing a global, demilitarized, and democratic security system, to a just world economic order, and to overcoming underdevelopment and misery, as well as to solving the ecological crisis.

4. The global challenges require a social and ecological reorganization of the existing social and economic systems, above all, in Europe. It is only through a steady social reform process in East and West that Europe will be able to preserve its progressive traditions and orient them to the future and meet its responsibility toward the world. At the same time, solving the global problems that are becoming increasingly complicated requires the creation of European political, socioeconomic, legal, and cultural structures and their democratic legitimation.

5. A democratic Europe is inconceivable without the overcoming of the military confrontation of the blocs. The PDS advocates a Europe without weapons of mass destruction, radical conventional disarmament that will result in making both sides incapable of attack, and comprehensive confidence-building measures. We suggest the following steps on this road:

—changing the two alliance systems into political alliances that jointly guarantee security and political stability during the phase of change in Europe until pan-European mechanisms and structures have been created;

—creating cooperative security structures between the alliances;

—dissolving the military organizations of NATO and the Warsaw Pact;

—democratizing the Warsaw Pact and institutionalizing this democratization process;

—reducing conventional forces by 50 percent as a result of the second round of the Vienna negotiations;

—eliminating existing and preventing new offensive capabilities based on high technology;

—creating intrabloc mechanisms for the prevention and management of crises.

The PDS suggests drafting national conversion plans.

6. We advocate a new quality of the CSCE process and the comprehensive institutionalization of this process as a main road to a unified Europe. Important traditional sovereign rights of the states are subject to intensive internationalization. Like in the areas of security, ecology, and the socioeconomic intertwinement of societies, they can only be exercised jointly and should be guaranteed within and through CSCE institutions that could be based in both parts of Berlin.

We support the following steps on the road to this goal:

—the creation of a European security council;

—the forming of a CSCE parliament;

—agreement on mechanisms for the mandatory settlement of conflicts by political and legal means;

—the setting up of other pan-European institutions, including a European verification agency to supervise all disarmament agreements concerning Europe;

—the drafting of a European legal system to guarantee uniform democracy and human rights standards;

—the drafting of a European social charter;

—the drafting of an ecological charter for Europe;

—the setting up, step by step, of a European economic and technological system with the aim of setting up a pan-European economic area;

—agreement on a European communications program (traffic, electronic media, data network);

—the setting up of a European university to be based in both parts of Berlin;

—the founding of a European cultural initiative.

7. The PDS fights for a Europe of the working people, communities and regions, countries and peoples, for a Europe where the equality of all—men and women and the generations—is implemented on the basis of the social and ecological reorganization of the national economies. The PDS therefore suggests drafting a pan-European social charter without delay. It must combine the two great European ideas of freedom and equality, which had not been brought into agreement for a long enough time. Based on a comparison of the countries and systems, the social charter should consider the most advanced standard of implemented social and cultural, political and individual rights of the working people as a whole and dictate it to the national legislative bodies.

8. The PDS advocates the Europeanization of the GDR. Out of special responsibility toward German history, it fights consistently against nationalism, racism, xenophobia, and intolerance. The PDS advocates consistently orienting the Europeanization of the GDR at the most advanced standards of social, political, ecological, and cultural development. The criteria of progress themselves must be the result of a European dialogue.

II. For Pan-European Integration!

9. The extent of economic, social, and political integration in Europe is different in the individual areas. The European Communities have created functioning models for trade, economic networks, technological cooperation, structural policy, the coordination of economic and monetary policies, the adjustment of legislation, and foreign policy cooperation, and have thus had an essential share in defining the ideas about the contents and forms of pan-European integration. At the same time, the European Communities have thus become a focus of relations between European states. Other European states and groups of states, including the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] and CEMA, are striving for close cooperation with the EC on a contractual basis. However, in view of growing obstacles to an additional expansion of EC membership, the considerable economic, social, and political differences between the individual European states, and the difference in the international network of European national economies, there will be different ways, forms, and rates of integration in Europe.

10. The PDS assumes, therefore, that several different groups of integration, which are linked with each other in the most different ways, and forms of cooperation will continue to exist in Europe. Their specific tasks and structures take account of the specific conditions and requirements of the participating states. In this framework, we consider the revitalization of bilateral and multilateral integration in Eastern Europe necessary. The high degree of mutual external trade links and geographical factors, but in particular the social changes in East Europe that require mutual solidarity and a rapprochement of economic policies, and that make possible a larger ability of integration on sound economic and political bases, speak in favor of this position.

11. It is also important to develop strategies and mechanisms for the cooperation, rapprochement, and merger of the different structures in a pan-European process. Mutual isolation and exclusiveness must be overcome, the mutual opening up and ability of cooperation must be strengthened. The PDS advocates agreement between

the EC, EFTA, and CEMA on the principles of a European economic and social area and on the opening of existing and the creation of new programs of economic, scientific-technological, and ecological cooperation. Membership of all interested European states in the Council of Europe and its conventions would expand equal political cooperation in Europe, adjust legal, humanitarian, social, and democratic standards, and would thus also advance pan-European integration. Different ways and rates of pan-European integration also mean that under the roof of generally binding common regulations, individual states and groups of states enter into a particularly close interrelationship and policy coordination.

12. The PDS is in favor of an active contribution by the GDR to European integration. We propose the following steps:

—active diplomacy for a European economic, social, and legal area, for harmonization and cooperation of the existing structures of integration and cooperation;

—initiatives for the concrete revitalization of CEMA on the basis of international economic compatibility, economic interest, advanced integration concepts, and democratic decision-making;

—close contractually regulated cooperation with the EC, which facilitates access to the developing single EC market and makes possible the participation in West European programs of economic and scientific-technical cooperation;

—using the possibilities of the GDR to develop into a turntable of East-West economic relations;

—the anchoring of the political, economic, and cultural intertwinement of two German states in the pan-European process;

—consolidating security policy relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of a renewed community of interests and values, linked with new forms of economic, scientific-technological, humanitarian, and cultural cooperation;

—promotion of special and intensive forms of political, economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian cooperation with our neighbors in Central Europe.

III. For a European Solution of the German Question!

13. The PDS supports a comprehensive and gradual process of the two German states growing closer together, which will lead to a confederation of the two states by way of a treaty-based community as a contribution to the demilitarization and democratization of the relations between the European states and of a confederative Europe that is cooperative, social, has solidarity, and is ecologically oriented and, finally, multifaceted. For us it is self-evident that Berlin (West) will be included in this process. The PDS is in favor of preserving the political, social, and cultural identity and independence of the GDR in this process and of revealing its advantages as a democratic-socialist state. The realization of the national and other decisive interests of the German nation is not possible without pan-European unification.

14. The PDS is categorically against a German-national and revanchist solution of the German question. Our goal is the overcoming of the division of Europe. Unification of the two German states as a nation state would not serve this goal and under today's conditions would just mean absorption of the GDR. We want neither a Fourth Reich nor a pan-German federal republic, in which neofascists are legalized, communists are banned from exercising their profession, workers are excluded from exercising power and are threatened with unemployment, women are subjected to the yoke of Article 218, and our eastern neighboring states would be confronted with an all-German membership in NATO. The PDS is consistently in favor of respecting the borders in Europe, in particular the inviolability of the western Polish border.

15. In this spirit, our party orients its policy in the German question toward three conditions and goals:

First, in the current stage we proceed from the premise of maintaining the existence of two states of the German nation and, at the same time, we will actively work to create all practical opportunities for coexistence and the development of the German nation.

Second, we want to take the GDR into a confederative German treaty-based community as an attractive and dynamic, socialist, democratically legitimized, and antifascist state, and we will work to ensure that the drawing together of the two German states takes place on a mutual basis and through mutual changes, which must consist, in particular, in demilitarization, further democratization, and humanization of both societies.

Third, the drawing together of the two German states must proceed in harmony with the interests of the neighboring states, the Four Powers, as well as pan-European security and cooperation and it must be aimed at the establishment of the European home. The shaping of the relations between the two German states in legal terms and in terms of content must thus be most closely linked with a new quality of the CSCE process. The existing restrictions on sovereignty for the two German states must be overcome.

16. Peace must start from German soil! We advocate filling this demand with concrete as well as far-reaching content. The PDS calls on the governments of the two German states to make a joint contribution to detente and radical disarmament as well as to dissolving the military organizations of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The dangers of high technology armament on German soil has not yet been banished. Destabilizing modernization programs for nuclear and conventional weapons must be put away!

Our party will support all efforts for common and, ultimately, demilitarized security in Europe.

17. The PDS is in favor of aiming the development of a treaty-based community of the two German states at the gradual establishment of confederative structures, which will combine the possibility of joint development with the possibility of sovereignty under international and the existence of the different social systems of the two German states. However, a German confederation should distinguish itself from traditional confederative models not only in this respect; it should above all be a future-oriented confederation of people and should serve the development of intellectually and culturally rich individuals. This means both in intra-German and European relations:

—the free exchange of people, information, and views;

—in this exchange the autonomy of science, culture, the arts, regions, communities, social and political organizations, and movement of citizens;

—the progressive denationalization of communication across borders.

18. The creation of a close relationship between the GDR and the FRG should start with the expansion of security policy, and economic, ecological, scientific-technological, cultural, and humanitarian cooperation and should lead to the overall interlacing of the two states and societies both with each other and with the other European states and it should also lead to effective joint answers to acute global problems. In such a Europe the question of the relationship among the states and peoples will have to be posed anew. This then also applies to the two German states. They have to show themselves open to historical development.

IV. For a Common Europe With National, Social, and Cultural Variety

19. The 1990's will be decisive for solving the global questions of mankind and for creating an adequate counterbalance to the ongoing development of capitalist industrialism. Only an alliance of the left forces in Europe can ensure that the processes of radical change in Eastern Europe will be coordinated with the (still-awaited) reform processes in Western Europe and that the development of the European societies in a socially and ecologically progressive direction can thus be ensured. The PDS supports the idea of holding a conference of the European left to discuss strategic concepts for Europe.

20. The regulation of political and economic competition oriented toward global challenges calls for the definition of new cultural directions. These can develop only in the course of dialogue among the cultures. The lively and conflict-rich process of contact between the various cultural traditions of the peoples of Europe represents a reservoir of cultural orientations that must be jointly exploited. The social variety of the European states provides an essential opportunity for the necessary process of learning and mutual enrichment of the development process in East and West. The goal is the free development of every person. The responsibility of the individual in Europe for preserving his national dignity and cultural identity increases with the acceptance of other national and cultural forms. This is a great sphere of action for the development of the national feelings, hopes, and aspirations of the people. This development rules out any kind of national superiority, arrogance, and racial prejudice. European integration must be aimed both at the ability to internationalize all social forms and the resultant increasing sense of national identity of the peoples.

21. The PDS is in favor of developing a European cultural initiative. We propose:

—measures to demilitarize public life, eliminate enemy images, and educate people for peace at the European and national level;

—establishment of a permanent CSCE cultural forum;

—establishment of a European cultural foundation;

—annual designation of "European cultural towns" or "European cultural regions";

—establishment of European cultural centers in the CSCE states;

—promotion of the cultures of smaller European countries, the regions, and national minorities;

—multilateral cooperation in the development of a European culture and media industry;

—overall promotion of cultural exchanges at government and nongovernment level.

22. Only in a Europe of independent cultures with equal rights can the process of internationalization also be formed as a process of civilization. The meeting and the exchange of cultures is the real alternative to a leveling out of cultural identities in the spirit of monopolistic cultural industries. Europe has always been a multicultural continent. Its history is characterized by the very autonomous, but not independent, development of distinguishable communities and by the simultaneous existence of different social and political systems. The transcending processes of globalization and internationalization and the current regional processes of integration have developed Europe's multicultural character still further.

23. At the same time, however, Europe, is also a continent with a common culture, the sources of which are the varied and closely interlaced forms of culture and ideas of European history: antiquity and Christianity, renaissance-humanism, enlightenment and classicism, Marxism and the workers movement, late bourgeois modern times and postmodern terms. As a result of its national and cultural variety, Europe has a chance to

make this wealth productive by cooperation that transcends the systems and that is undertaken with a view to solving mankind's global problems. The solutions to the global problems can only be common solutions of all of mankind. The varied and, at the same time, uniform culture is therefore also a category of the future.

SED-PDS Statement on Election Date

AU0802155690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Jan 90 p 1

[ND report: "The Country Needs a Clear Perspective"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Our country needs a democratically legitimized government that is able to work, Manfred Wolter, press spokesman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS], stated on behalf of the party Presidium on Tuesday [30 January]. The state of increasing insecurity and fear for the future must be terminated. The people in our country want a clear perspective. Therefore, the PDS supports the proposal to hold the People's Chamber elections on 18 March 1990.

Now important tasks are on the agenda of the basic organizations:

—Let us only propose candidates for the People's Chamber elections who convincingly secure the renewal of the party in word and deed, who are competent and respected by the public.

—Let us conduct the election campaign, above all, by talking to the citizens. This requires the comrades' active participation in bodies that represent the citizens' municipal interests.

—Every basic organization is requested to tackle questions of municipal policy that affect the people and to solve them in cooperation with political forces and citizens' movements.

—Let us orientate ourselves by those strata of voters to whom we want to appeal especially, in order to canvass for the PDS by objective work.

—Our election platform will be published soon. The election campaign has already been initiated and does not start with the first election congress.

Diplomatic Relations With Vatican Restored

LD0902121390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Secretary of State Cardinal Casaroli, who is in our country heading a Vatican delegation, is holding a news conference in the Parliament. Peter Zentay reports:

[Zentay] I (?have waited) almost 30 years for this moment, and believe me I am really happy now, said Agostino Casaroli, the number two man in the Vatican, at 1115, after he and Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth signed the agreement restoring diplomatic relations between the two states. [passage omitted]

On behalf of the government, Miklos Nemeth said that the signing, that is the restoration of diplomatic relations, is a historic event. He added that after this, the pope's planned visit to Hungary promises to be even more successful.

One more thing: A member of the Hungarian Bench of Bishops, who wished to remain anonymous, told me in response to my question that there is indeed a possibility in the not too distant future for the return home of Jozsef Mindszenty's ashes.

The opening of the news conference is late; Cardinal Casaroli is not yet in the parliamentary chamber. He is having talks with Matyas Szueros, interim head of state.

New Decree Regulates Arms Trading

LD0902121790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] The government has issued a decree regulating arms trading. From now on, deals can only be struck if they do not violate Hungarian foreign policy and defense interests. Sales cannot be made to countries where fundamental human rights are violated or where a war is under way. The sale of arms is prohibited to so-called crisis zones, too. The Committee of Experts appointed by the interior minister, and the defense, trade, and foreign ministers can issue licenses for arms traders to sign contracts. In disputed cases, they will also ask for the opinions of the parliamentary Defense and Foreign Affairs Committees.

HSP Welcomes CPSU Plenum Resolutions

LD0802193890 Budapest MTI in English 1742 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 8 (MTI)—The following statement was forwarded by the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) to MTI's national press service:

"The Hungarian Socialist Party considers as a fundamental turnabout and welcomes the determination of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in its revolutionary renewal of the Soviet society. During debates at the February plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU, adopted resolutions prove that the CPSU is preparing to take the greatest step in its modern day history, through the reassessment of its social role, by renewing its alliance relations, by ensuring the political freedom of opinion and through the recognition and support of the revolutionary changes taking place in Eastern Europe.

The HSP professes with conviction that the Gorbachev-policy was one of the initiators and all along an important factor of the positive changes in Europe and Eastern Europe. The successes of this could have direct influence on the development of world situation, thus also to the fate of Hungarian democracy as well.

Hungarian socialists are genuinely backing the efforts of the Soviet progressive forces in further unfolding democracy, in strengthening the union of the nations of the Soviet Union, based on full equal rights, in putting the Soviet economy on its feet," the statement of the HSP reads.

MSZMP's Thurmer on USSR, Domestic Issues

LD0802145290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] I trust that the socialist renewal of Soviet society will lead to success at the current plenum. This was emphasized by Gyula Thurmer, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], among other things in his address to some 100 people in Dunaujvaros.

Replying to my question, he said that the MSZMP is interested in safeguarding a united Soviet Union because, as he said, a potential breakup would carry the danger of war. A good relationship exists between the two parties and Gyula Thurmer will travel to Moscow soon for the further strengthening of this. He wishes to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev there. It is expected that East European changes, Hungarian-Soviet relations, and the need for the withdrawal of Soviet troops—for which the MSZMP is striving—will be raised.

Speaking about domestic political issues, Gyula Thurmer maintained that Hungarian social processes are moving in extreme directions. He described as worrisome the intensification of nationalism, the appearance of anti-Semitism, and the growth of racial discrimination. He took offense at the fact that people are dismissed from firms because they are MSZMP members. Perhaps it is this, too, which could explain the fact that people are afraid to register their primary voting intention slips [kopogtato cedula] in favor of MSZMP candidates.

Regarding the national summit, Mr. Thurmer said that it has not been well prepared or thought through but that, despite this, the MSZMP is taking part and demands that prices should not be raised until after the March elections. People should not be dismissed from the

Interior and Defense Ministries and the government should dissociate itself from extreme opinions.

Since about 40 percent of the current MSZMP membership is composed of workers, the MSZMP intends to treat workers with special significance and the current visit Dunaujvaros was conceived in this spirit.

USSR Prior to Party Plenum Viewed

AU0902115690 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Feb 90 p 3

[Peter Vajda editorial: "The Street and the Plenum"]

[Text] The pace of change has accelerated in Europe, where statutes and taboos are falling and where the streets are writing history—this time, the Moscow streets. We are just beginning to assess the weight and cumulative effects of the changes that have been occurring in the vast area stretching from the Elba River to the Pacific Ocean. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to mention that these changes have been taking place in a tumultuous way almost everywhere: The Christmas revolution in Romania was a bloody one, and public buildings in the GDR and the Soviet Consulate in Krakow were torn down; in this respect, Hungary is an island. Some people seem to forget this, people who, under the fashionable slogan of "the criminal decades of communism", lump Ceausescu's Romania or Honecker's GDR together with Hungary, a country in which a ruling party decided on a change in the regime and regarding democratization.

To plagiarize John Reed, these are months that rock the world. There is only one other power on this planet whose domestic changes have a similarly huge effect on world events as the changes in the Soviet Union. (This other power is the United States which, although the youngest big power, has developed an efficient balancing and crisis management mechanism in a democratic way during its 200-year history.) These days, the Soviet Union is reliving the main turning points in its own history, because it seems that the moment has come when the answers to certain questions can no longer be delayed. In this respect, this is the time to face the issues and the time for justice. We could term these issues three- dimensional because they are simultaneously dealing with the past, present, and the future.

The past has presented the bill, and the present should pay the bill and decide not only what the future will be like, but also whether there will be a future at all. This is no rhetorical figure, because it is already clear that time has passed over the Soviet Union in its current form. Without changes and radical reforms, perhaps following the fatal and tragic Chinese road, the Soviet Union might be able to extend the period of stagnation, but the country would not be able to make it to the end of this decade. The disintegration of the Soviet Union has become a real threat. This is the common message of the conflict in the Caucasus where weapons are used, as well as the drama in the Baltic area where the processes are taking place in a more civilized way, in a European way. (We did not mention the republics where there is still quiet but no guarantees that the disturbances will not spread there, too, like the Ukraine neighboring the Hungarian Republic....)

The most urgent task is to settle the nationalities conflict on the basis of real democracy and equality. The fact that the spread of hatred has made half a million people homeless only emphasizes the extent of this problem: This is a social Chernobyl! The other issue, the creation of political democracy, seems no less urgent: after the allowed changes, making systematic changes take root. The need to abandon the party state has also come to the fore in the Soviet Union, and perhaps Gyula Horn, who is known as a politician with a wide European view, was right when he recently declared in an interview to NEPSZABADSAG that the Soviet Union cannot avoid the introduction of a multiparty system that represents the essence of pluralism. However, this will be a much more difficult process there, compared with Central-East Europe. After all, the frightfully strong demonstration in Moscow on 4 February, a demonstration full of contradictions, showed that the people were expecting this from the party plenum beginning 5 February. Scientific analysis, the voice of the streets, and processes in neighboring countries or closer all prove that the leading role of the Communist Party was declared in vain, and the one-party system simply does not work: The King is naked. Democracy must be created, although democracy has never been rooted in the great part of this country, not even as much as in Central-East Europe. (It is worth quoting a German historian who says that, contrary to expectations, it was not difficult to create democracy in the FRG after World War II, because Adenauer, who became chancellor after Hitler, had been the mayor of Cologne in the Weimar Republic before Hitler....)

As a third lesson, the renewal of the Soviet economy will be incomparably more difficult than the previous two tasks. This is the most critical side of the balance of restructuring, and they have not yet even reached the stage of taking stock and answering the question "what is how much?" However, they have already drawn certain lessons on the basis of the developments so far: Who remembers today the "acceleration" created by restructuring? This self-critical change resulted from the fact that Gorbachev and his fellow leaders recognized that there was nothing to accelerate until they put things in order by reorganizing things and created operational conditions. The frightening images of empty shelves from Chap to Nahodka express the shortages deriving from the Stalinist model, and, in the final analysis, these images show the greatest of all the tasks awaiting the country. The population of a superpower should be supplied with consumer goods in a normal way worthy of Europe, and they should at long last create a normal economic circulation so as to enable the economy to adjust to technical development. The extent of shortages is itself threatening an elementary explosion of dissatisfaction, and this makes the need to more urgently solve the aforementioned two questions, specifically, by advancing toward a federation and turning toward democracy. As long as the policy does not create balanced conditions, the economy is unable to function even at a lesser speed.

I am writing these lines a few hours after the huge demonstration in Moscow and before the beginning of the party plenum. This will probably be a fateful confrontation between followers of progress and conservative forces and will be one of the most important—or probably the most important—meeting in the CPSU's entire history. These will be the most important and most difficult days in the career of a statesman whose political survival is in the interest of the entire civilized world. Mikhail Gorbachev will need all his experience, his talents of creating consensus, and his courage to defend and raise the level of restructuring, and to defend his country from disintegration and falling into a bottomless pit.

Romania's Tokes Meets Szuros, Nemeth

LD0802175290 Budapest MTI in English 1421 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 8 (MTI)—Laszlo Tokes had a crowded diary of mainly protocol engagements for the sixth day of his two- week goodwill trip to Hungary.

In the morning, the reformed clergyman of Timisoara and member of the National Salvation Front of Romania met leading politicians of the Republic of Hungary.

At his meeting with Laszlo Tokes, Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic, stressed that relations between Romania and Hungary should be developed on new foundations in the spirit of openness, understanding, rapprochement and mutual advantages.

The sides agreed it was necessary to shortly resume, on a reciprocal basis, the operation of institutions which were abolished or unauthorized under Ceausescu's rule, such as the Hungarian Consulate General in Cluj or the House of Hungarian Culture in Bucharest. They also called for creating conditions for the expansion of mother tongue instruction in Hungarian.

Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth was the next to meet the Rev. Tokes. He said the Hungarian Government was striving for the best possible relations with democratic Romania, and expressed the hope that the process of democratization would bring major improvements in the position of Romanian Hungarians.

Laszlo Tokes gave briefs about the results and troubles of democratic transformation in Romania, and asked for Hungary's help in overcoming problems and strengthening good-neighbourly relations and friendship between the two peoples.

The discussion was attended by Jozsef Somogyi, lay president of the Reformed Church Synod of Hungary, and Bishop Karoly Toth, pastoral vice-president of the synod and secretary of the Hungarian Reformed Pastoral Association. Barna Sarkadi Nagy, head of the Church Policy Secretariat of the Council of Ministers, was also present.

Meets Pozsgay, Others

LD0802075790 Budapest MTI in English 1451 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 8 (MTI)—The central theme of discussions between State Minister Imre Pozsgay and Laszlo Tokes was the current democratic transformation and home policy events in Hungary. They expressed the hope that democratic development in Hungary and the revolutionary process in Romania would provide a realistic chance for renewing relations between the two peoples.

The talks between Deputy Foreign Minister Imre Szokai and the Reformed clergyman covered the bilateral links and the position of Romanian Hungarians. They stated the nationalistic Romanian dictatorship had plunged the Romanian Hungarians into a critical situation and created grave tension in interstate relations. The openly accepted commitment of the two countries to place their relationship on a new basis offers a fair chance for a historic compromise between the two peoples.

Imre Szokai pointed out that Hungary's foreign policy was aimed at achieving concrete results in the field of relations through open dialogue, the definite formulation and representation of Hungarian interests, and in a constructive spirit. Laszlo Tokes stressed that ensuring the rights of ethnic Hungarians was a crucial issue of Romanian democracy. They agreed that the affair of Romanian refugees in Hungary had to be settled in a humanitarian manner as soon as possible by creating such conditions that nobody feels like fleeing from Romania and those staying in Hungary return to the land of their ancestors.

Deputy Minister Csaba Tabajdi put Laszlo Tokes in the picture about the work of the College and Secretariat of National and Ethnic Minorities, an advisory body to the government. The clergyman highly appreciated the assistance these organizations had given to Transylvanian Hungarians in the difficult days.

Mention was also made of the importance for Hungarian Romanians and Romanian Hungarians to preserve their identity. Csaba Tabajdi stressed the necessity of creating mutual assurances to guarantee the collective rights of the Hungarian and romanian Minorities and avoid possible grievances.

Szuros, Fodor Meet Council of Europe Head

LD0802100490 Budapest MTI in English 2300 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 6 (MTI)—Discussions were held on Tuesday, in Budapest by Catherine Lalumiere, general secretary of the Council of Europe, with Antall Reger, secretary of the parliament's Foreign Committee and a number of MPs. Madame Lalumiere was also received by Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of the parliament, and Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary.

Mr Fodor spoke in appreciation of the good relations between the Hungarian parliament and the Council of Europe. In a move to foster these relations, a large-scale conference is to be held in Budapest in May by the two bodies, focussing on economic issues.

During the exchange with Mr Szuros, Madame Lalumiere was informed about the political changes taking place in Hungary, and shaping the legal conditions of parliamentary democracy. Mr Szuros also spoke about the economic difficulties hampering political transformation. In Mr Szuros's view, the International Monetary Fund should show greater understanding for Hungary, particularly in the interest of creating necessary political conditions of the transformation. Mr Szuros also raised the problems of Hungarian nationals living beyond the country's borders.

In the course of the discussions, Madame Lalumiere spoke about her experience that a kind of national concensus seems to be emerging on the question of the country's opening towards Europe. Ties between the Council of Europe and Hungary were termed as fruitful, and it was emphasized that Hungary may almost certainly become a full member of the organisation already in this year. Shecalled attention to the fact that becoming a member of the Council of Europe also means that the country is to become a signatory of the European Convention on Human Rights.

Madame Lalumiere gave an account about the very favourable reception by the Council of Europe, of the changes taking place in Hungary. The general secretary also considered important the improvement of the situation of minorities, and made a promise to assemble information on favourable experience of solving minority problems, and to forward this to Hungary.

Madame lalumiere was received on Tuesday by Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, at the party headquarters. Subsequently, a meeting took place at the Hilton Hotel with Istvan Hegedus and Zsuzsa Szelenyi, members of the Federation of Young Democrats's board.

Visit Ends

LD0802113490 Budapest MTI in English 1957 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Budapest, February 7 (MTI)—Having concluded her two-day visit to Hungary, Madame Lalumiere, general secretary of the Council of Europe, left Budapest on Wednesday evening. [passage omitted]

Horn Arrives in Canada 7 Feb

LD0802175190 Budapest MTI in English 0830 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa, February 8 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, arrived on an official visit in Canada on Wednesday [7 February] evening at the invitation of his Canadian opposite number Joe Clark.

On Thursday morning, Mr Horn is to have a working breakfast with Ray Hnatyshyn, the new governer-general of the country. Then, he will meet John Frazer, speaker of the House of Commons, and Guy Charbonneau, speaker of the Senate, and in the afternoon hours, he is to confer with his host.

In the evening, the Canadian secretary of state for external affairs is to host a dinner in the honour of the Hungarian foreign minister.

Mr Horn is to visit Toronto on Friday, and Montreal on Saturday and will meet with local political leaders, businessmen and representatives of the Hungarian community.

On Monday, Mr Horn is to join in the session of the 'Open Skies' conference. At the meeting of NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries, a contract is to be drafted on mutual monitoring flights over each other's air-space. The second part of the conference, at which the agreement will be signed, is to be held in Budapest during this year.

Opinion Poll Favors Hungarian Democratic Forum

LD0802094190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] According to a domestic opinion poll, if the parliamentary elections were held now, the Hungarian Democratic Forum would finish first, the Alliance of Free Democrats second, and the Independent Smallholders Party third. Of the 1,000 voting citizens canvassed, scarcely more than 100 would vote for the Socialist Party, which, in that case, would rank fourth. According to preliminary estimates, 30 percent of the electors still do not know which party to vote for, and only 58 percent of those questioned said they would definitely go to the polls.

AFD To Run in Parliamentary Elections

LD0802203990 Budapest MTI in English 1603 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 8 (MTI)—The alliance of Free Democrats [AFD] is going to put up candidates—176 in number—in all individual constituencies at the parliamentary elections of March 25, the AFD executives told a news conference in Budapest on Thursday [8 February].

They referred to the January 25-31 survey of the Hungarian opinion polls institute which revealed that if the elections were held now, the AFD would receive most votes in the capital and the independent Smallholders' Party in the provinces. The members of the four-party coalition of AFD, the Federation of Young Democrats, the Smallholders and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, set up for the referendum of November 26, 1989, could reckon with a majority vote even today.

In connection with possible new coalitions, the AFD would only form such a party coalition which has a considerable majority of seats in the new parliament. Otherwise, the executives said, parliament would become unviable within a very short time.

The AFD stands opposed to political hysteria-mongering, and deems it improbable for the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary trying to disturb democratic transformation by a large-scale military manoeuvre just at the time of the elections.

The Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) also faced the press about their electoral concepts on Thursday. They said since the referendum Hungary's political map had changed and, in their opinion, now a future coalition between the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Hungarian Democratic Forum was taking shape.

The FYD wants a neutral Hungary and, therefore, calls for early withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty. FYD's board members feel this question should be decided at a referendum.

Trade Minister on 1989 Results, 1990 Plans

LD0802104590 Budapest MTI in English 1554 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 7, (MTI)—At a press conference on Wednesday, Minister of Trade Tamas Beck surveyed the development of Hungary's domestic and foreign trade last year, and outlined new plans for 1990.

Last year's hard-currency trade surplus was 544 million dollars, in other words, exports to capitalist countries were at an adequate level. Exports accounted for 5,900 million, and imports for 5,400 million, dollars.

Mr Beck called the huge rouble surplus the most critical issue in the country's foreign trade. The surplus in commodity turnover was 550 million roubles by the end of the year, and total surpluses amounted to 1,500 million roubles.

Trade with all Comecon member countries, but most of all the Soviet Union, took an unfavourable course, as these countries usually have no commodity coverage to pay for exports. While licensing rouble exports will come under strict regulation in the future, barter trade will get the green light from the ministry.

Mr Beck hinted that the Hungarian prime minister would be suggesting to his Soviet counterpart that the Hungarian surplus be settled in hard currency on the basis of a mutually-agreed rouble- dollar conversion rate.

Hungarian companies who lose their export market in the Soviet Union will be recompensed from a 4-5,000 million forint fund.

Under this year's guidelines, hard-currency accounting turnover will have to yield 700-million-dollar surpluses alongside a 7-8 per cent increase in exports. The balance of payments in trade with socialist countries is planned to produce a 500-million-rouble deficit.

Last year, domestic trade turnover was at 810,000 million forints, but the quantity of goods sold fell by about 2 per cent as against the year before. This year, turnover at current prices is planned to raise by about 20 per cent, together with a further cut in quantity.

At the briefing, Tamas Beck dealt separately with shopping tourism. He said he would recommend to the ministry to continue the private food export ban with a few exceptions. The number of Soviet, Yugoslav, Romanian and Czechoslovak tourists who wish to buy food in Hungary is expected to further increase. At the same time, Hungary has had to import certain food products for convertible currency, so it cannot afford selling these goods on the East European market.

The minister says this year's domestic supply will be sufficient. Ministry experts are making research into what the highest limit to price rises is which can still endured by the domestic market, and what would be the effects of potentially freezing prices on the domestic market.

Skubiszewski Returns From FRG, Assesses Visit

LD0802195890 Warsaw PAP in English 1838 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski returned home from his three-day visit to the FRG today. In his airport statement Skubiszewski assessed the visit as very good.

"At the beginning of my visit to the FRG I held a long conversation with Federal Minister (Hans-Dietrich) Genscher. We talked about the new situation in Europe caused by the striving of the people and various political forces in the GDR towards the reunification with the FRG.

"The reunification issue also dominated many other meetings, i.e. a very open talk with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, which was much longer than envisaged, talks with the chairman of the Free Democratic Party Count (Otto) Lambsdorf and the chairwoman of Bundestag (Rita Suessmuth). That question was also referred to in the discussion with the Minister of Finance (Theo) Waigel, though, we mainly focussed on financial issues," Skubiszewski said.

"There is no use for Poles seeking political asylum in the FRG at present as there are no grounds for granting such an asylum to Poles. Chancellor Kohl told me that out of 26,000 Poles who had recently sought asylum, it was with great difficulty granted to only 1.5 per cent of the applicants while making very liberal use of the respective regulations," the minister said.

Walesa Meets Polish-Czech Solidarity Group

LD0802131690 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 7—Lech Walesa met here today with representatives of the Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity Zbigniew Janas, Miroslaw Jasinski, Wojciech Maziarski, Janusz Okrzesik and Mieczyslaw Piotrowski.

During the talk which focused on the Polish-Czechoslovak contacts, Walesa expressed his support for the activities of Polish- Czechoslovak Solidarity aimed at bringing societies of the two countries closer together.

While stressing his sympathy for the peoples of Czechoslovakia, the Solidarity leader conveyed the words of friendship and respect for President Vaclav Havel and the democratic movement in Czechoslovakia.

Views Federation With CSSR

LD0802164790 Warsaw PAP in English 2327 GMT 7 Feb 90

[By PAP Correspondent Ryszard Ginalski]

[Text] Madrid, Feb. 7—Spanish information agency EFE carried an interview granted by Lech Walesa to the agency's Warsaw correspondents and titled "I must help to push this wagon called Poland."

Walesa admitted that after leading the Solidarnosc trade union for the past 10 years he would prefer to fulfil the post of honorary chairman. However he did not exclude that if it is necessary, he could even become the president of the Polish Republic.

Commenting on the idea of Polish-Czechoslovak federation Walesa said: "Havel said something very interesting, that one should not strive after a federation, but search method of how to join Europe together."

Walesa Views Soviet Troop Pullout, Other Issues

LD0802233390 Warsaw PAP in English 2200 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 8—Lech Walesa held his press conference in the "Polmo" car parts factory in Tczew (Gdansk voivodship) today.

On Withdrawal of Soviet Troops

Speaking on his plans for visiting Moscow, Walesa referred to his proposal to withdraw Soviet troops from Poland voiced during his meeting with the USSR ambassador and stressed that stationing them is a waste of money which would be very useful for Poland.

We should defend ourselves, we should be in some alignments but in the ones adjusted to modern technology, not expensive but efficient. If I go to Moscow, I will firmly demand answer to that issue, and explanation what happened to officers (Polish officers executed in Katyn and other places in wartime), Walesa said.

If I am invited, it is not in order to drink coffee, make photographs, but to settle things we whisper about, he added.

On Kwasniewski's Letter

In reply to the question whether he got acquainted with an open letter addressed to him by leader of the newly formed Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland [SDRP], Aleksandr Kwasniewski, Walesa said that he intends to answer it which does not mean he is going to change his views.

I respected Mr. Kwasniewski and still do, but I expected a more serious movement on the left and not repainting. And I do not like that, Walesa stated.

If you want the property taken from us (in possession of the former PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] which the SDRP wants to take over), (I say) no, I will write, Walesa said. You must start from the beginning, earn your wealth, then I will respect you. That property is founded on the harms done to people.

On Early Parliamentary Elections

Walesa was skeptical about the concept to speed up elections to the Sejm and Senate.

I am for early elections to local self-governments so that we can take everything in our hands, so that new authorities feel really elected. Now it is worse than in communists' time, but in a half a year we are unable to heal the situation. We took power completely unprepared. It will be better, without any doubt, but we need time for that, Walesa stated.

The Solidarity leader treated in a similar way the proposal on a referendum on the constitution put forward by Bronislaw Geremek.

There is a lot to be mended, he argumented [as received], but we must have a hierarchy of importance, an established order. (Should we amend) the constitution now? I do not know.

On Round Table

Asked about the effects of the Round Table after a year from the beginning of the debates, Walesa said: Today the most important partner at the Round Table does not exist, but the Round Table proper does. It is a historical sign, the moment when everything started.

On Running

If the need is, I am at the disposal of the union, and of the Motherland, Walesa answered to the questions on his future and possibility of his running for the Solidarity leadership or the presidential office. He stressed that he would like to have a rest after years of activity.

If anybody tries to break up the union, I will run, he stated however, If the Motherland calls me, I will not evade because I cannot leave everything to its fate lest it should lead to tragedy. Anarchy is the most alarming thing today because it may finish us, break Poland down, even lead to a civil war. I will not compete for the post of president but I will not evade responsibility.

There is a danger of the Solidarity monopoly, Walesa warned. We are becoming a new nomenklatura at a rapid pace. In order to avoid that we need new parties and programmes. You must take power but there will no more be elections "from photographs". We have won freedom and now we have to free the union from political issues and to prepare electoral programmes in parties.

On Economic Programme

Answering questions on economic transformations Walesa stressed that there is no better programme in Poland now than the one formulated by Vice premier Balcerowicz. He confirmed his support for him and for Mazowiecki's government. He expressed however his disapproval for unemployment which should be counteracted, according to him, by the so-called small privatization, by setting up family firms.

On Nuclear Power Plant

The problem of the construction of a nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec returned once again at the meeting.

Walesa reiterated his stand saying: Let wise people present all arguments for and against it and a referendum will settle the issue.

Only one young man was against Walesa's arguments in a traditional voting held at the end of the conference.

Jaruzelski Pays Official Visit to Switzerland

LD0502182890 Warsaw PAP in English 1632 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Bern, Feb. 5—After his stay in Davos at the world Economic forum, Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski today started his "official working visit" to Switzerland.

In the morning the Polish president made a courtesy call on President Arnold Koller. Later in the day he met with heads of federal departments of foreign affairs, Rene Felber; of public economy, Jean-Pascal Delamuraz; of finance, Otto Stich; and of justice and police.

"It would be good for the development of Polish-Swiss relations if Poland presented a list of desired and necessary plans in foreign and economic policy," Foreign Minister Felber told PAP while waiting for President Jaruzelski at the palace of the confederation Bundeshaus here today.

"Poland has done much in the political field but it is the economic situation which will decide on further progress in mutual contacts," said he.

Switzerland Will Help Poland

Following the talks in the confederation palace, president's spokesman Wlodzimierz Lozinski told PAP that the Swiss side expressed considerable interest in the transformations in Eastern Europe and appreciated the pioneer role played by Poland in these political and economic changes.

President Koller said that Wojciech Jaruzelski is not only a politician who stabilizes the situation in Poland but who speeds up the process of reforms as well.

For us you are a symbol of changes carried out in a peaceful way, Koller stated and added: You may count for Switzerland's participation in bringing assistance to Poland. It relates also to such an important sphere as environmental protection.

According to the spokesman, Swiss Minister of Foreign Affairs Rene Felber said that Poles are not the only ones who are concerned about Europe's future in the context of German unification.

It would be a good thing for the European nations to know what future Germans plan for themselves and to approve that, Felber said.

Also today President Jaruzelski visited Soleure where Polish natioal hero Tadeusz Kosciuszko (1746-1817) spent the last two years of his life and where his museum is located.

Member of the canton government in Soleure and chairman of the Kosciuszko Society which takes care of the museum, Alfred Roetheli greeted the president.

"In homage to a great Pole—soldier, patriot and humanist, with thanks to Soleure's authorities for their care of that monument of our history and culture," wrote President Jaruzelski in the museum's visitor's book.

The president was hosted by soleure's Mayor Urs Scheideger and representatives of old and recent emigration who stressed their ties with Poland, at the same time, a group of some 20 people carrying banners of the Fighting Solidarity and the Polish Independence Party reading "Jaruzelski must go" staged a demonstration in front of the museum.

Asked by the Swiss television about the demonstration, Wojciech Jaruzelski said that political views are the personal matter of each man. It is the pluralism we aim at. I know that more people express sympathy towards me than disapproval. They naturally have the right to that, he stated.

The president visited also the near town of Zuchwil with a chapel devoted to Polish soldiers who fought in France in wartime and after its fall crossed the Swiss border where they were interned.

Thanks International Red Cross

LD0602222190 Warsaw PAP in English 1713 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Geneva, Feb. 6—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski has started the Geneva stage of his trip to Switzerland with a visit at the seat of the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] where he met with the organisation's President Cornelio Sommaruga on last monday's evening.

During the meeting President Jaruzelski said: "We know that the ICRC was with us during the hard times of our history and in the years of WW 2 it was the only help which reached our tormented nation. We value the cooperation with the ICRC and I would like to express appreciation and thanks to all the activists of this noble organisation for their work," President Jaruzelski said.

Lays Wreath at Moscicki's Grave

LD0602222290 Warsaw PAP in English 1950 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Geneva, Feb. 6—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski laid a wreath at the grave of Ignacy Moscicki, the last president of the inter-war 2nd Polish Republic today before noon.

President Moscicki was buried in a family grave in Versoix near here, a few years ago activists of "Solidarnosc" in-exile took efforts to bring Moscicki's remains to Poland, but to no avail. Jaruzelski, asked about that matter, said that those efforts would be continued by Poland's incumbent authorities.

Next, the Polish guest visited Geneva's Town hall where he met with chairman of the Canton Council Follmi and Geneva's Mayor Emmernegger.

After the meeting at the town hall President Jaruzelski made a tour of the European Centre for Nuclear Research CERN near here.

In the afternoon the president was hosted at the Palace of Nations, the seat of the U.N., where he addressed the Human Rights Commission.

Addresses Human Rights Commission

LD0602221990 Warsaw PAP in English 1645 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Jaruzelski's Address to Human Rights Commission (Excerpts)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Geneva, Feb. 6—Human rights have been shaped for centuries in the course of social development. No country has a monopoly on a solely right formula of them. No society has a solely sinless past.

Europe gave the world an everlasting culture and a magnificent civilization but it also stained itself with periods of religious intolerance, colonialism and finally with the crime of genocide. During this century, this continent saw the outbreaks of two most terrible wars in the history of mankind. They claimed nearly one hundred million lives altogether, including millions from outside Europe.

Our continent still owes the rest of the world a kind of a "general confession."

A consistent search for the common denominator for universal, supra-national and supra-systematic values is a great merit of the United Nations, and the Human Rights Commission in particular.

Poland is not a late newcomer in the ranks of human rights defenders. It was as early as the 15th century that we adopted the principles of the rule of law which are shortest presented by a phrase from a famous document of 1430: "Neminem captivabimus nisi iure victum"—Nobody should be imprisoned unless legally judged."

We are proud of the age-old tradition of Polish tolerance. We had neither inquisition stakes nor religious wars.

This precious humanist tradition was for a long time disturbed by foreign rule, by foreign laws imposed upon us. Those were bad times to learn the fundamental norms of collective life. As a nation, we did not have enough time to practice modern forms of democracy and genuine self-government.

All this was the reason behind periods of regression in respecting human rights which occurred after Poland regained independence both after the first and after the Second World War—which was also the case in many other countries. There were cases of serious infractions upon the standards set by the international community. The early 1950s even saw unlawful reprisals, outright crimes.

We are sincere about it, we do not want to delete these chapters from the book of Polish history.

Now let me take the liberty of a personal reflection. Nearly nine years ago I had to make dramatic decisions which met with many a severe reprimand—especially on that part of this audience. I can understand those reactions, nobody choosing a lesser rather than bigger evil can count on applause.

Evil will always remain evil to one group of people or another, all the more so to individuals. I wish to say this openly from this rostrum, I do not intend to oversimplify anything.

However, what is essential in the historical scale is that which in the final balance stems from measures undertaken in extremism. Poland today is a sufficiently convincing proof of the then intentions of ours, of the direction of thinking and motives of action.

Poland today has no reason whatsoever to ignore verdicts of the international opinion as regards adherence to human rights.

We were the first country in Central-Eastern Europe to create, in the early 1980s, the tribunal of state, the constitutional tribunal, the supreme court of administration, the office of ombudsman with very broad powers.

The recent period saw deep democratic transformations taking place in Poland in the atmosphere of dialogue and national understanding. Poland is broadly opening to Europe and the world.

We are introducing the rule of law, unlimited by any side motives. We are also contributing to efforts undertaken by the international community with a view to codification of the fundamental humanitarian norms. As far as this is concerned, we boast a "national specialization" of our own.

A recent session of the United Nations General Assembly approved the convention on the rights of the child. It was being pondered upon for 11 years and its idea had been put forward by Poland almost a quarter of century ago.

There is an increasingly urgent need to harmonize individual and collective human rights, to fully realize in practice the concept of social justice which progressive ideas helped to popularize in numerous countries this century.

I am saying this not only from the position of the socialist doctrine—born, after all, in Western Europe—which already fascinated many a previous generation. At this point I can also refer to encyclicals by Pope John Paul II which provide so thorough an assessment of socio-economic problems of today.

Poland today is implementing with success the main postulates of great democratic documents of the recent centuries. In my capacity of president of the Polish Republic I wish to assure that our country will continue to proceed along the road of understanding, compromise and wise cooperation of various political and social forces. It will also realize in practice the norms and recommendations issued by the Human Rights Commission.

Remarks on 'Successful' Trip

LD0602232990 Warsaw PAP in English 2212 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Geneva, Feb. 6—Ending his four-day visit to Switzerland today Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski told PAP in part:

I am fully convinced that it was a very successful visit. In its international part, that is in Davos and Geneva, we sought common planes with the others. I would like to underline genuinely authentic interest in Polish issues, and support for the road of deep reforms we have entered, fundamental reforms but implemented in a responsible way, Jaruzelski stated.

Expressed was hope that our road will be crowned with success, that the pioneer character of our reforms will be conducive to transformations in the whole region, the president continued.

In my numerous talks with politicians and economic activists, Jaruzelski added, I tried to brief them on the Polish problems, first of all, on our determination to implement the line of reforms initiated last year and presently deepened and radicalized.

As concerns the Polish-Swiss relations, I met with a very friendly reception, Wojciech Jaruzelski said. The talks were characterized by the understanding for our problems and Switzerland's willingness to have a greater share in cooperation in all spheres, the economic one including which is so important for us.

Q.: It was a coincidence that in Davos, where, among others, Kohl and Modrow had met, Germany unification was one of the major questions under discussion. Do you think that the Polish reason of state will gain support of a broader European community?

A.: I think so. I had numerous contacts, held numerous talks as many people referred to my statement on the issue fully acknowledging and fully understanding our stand.

I felt the awareness that the German problem should be treated seriously by the whole European community, that it is not something isolated from, independent of the general processes going on in Europe, that it should not outpace these processes but constitute their integral part.

Greeted by director-general of the U.N. office here Jan Martenson and a number of high-ranking diplomats, functionaries of international organizations, President Jaruzelski visited, among other things, the Disarmament Conference hall of the Palace of Nations.

Wojciech Jaruzelski attended a meeting of the 46th session of the Human Rights Commission where he delivered a speech.

Next the Polish president met with Austria's Minister of Foreign Affairs Alois Mock. Discussed was intensification of cooperation between Poland and Austria. Both politicians pointed out that all political forces in the two countries support that. Considered was also the impact of the transformations in Eastern Europe on broader integration processes on the continent.

In the evening President Jaruzelski flew from Geneva to Poland.

SDRP Party Presents Founding Declaration

AU0602144890 Warsaw TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA in Polish 30 Jan 90 p 5

[Declaration adopted by the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland at the party's founding congress in Warsaw on 28 January]

[Text]

Poland

1. Poland represents our highest value. We serve Poland. We consider the will of the people, expressed in democratic elections based on proportional representation, to be the only source of authority. We see Poland's prosperity as being linked to progress, an opening up to the world, and participating in the world's achievements.

2. We want Poland to be a fatherland of the free and equal, who possess solidarity and a state in which there is social justice. We see its future being linked to democratic socialism.

We are in favor of a civic society. We consider the rights of the individual and civic liberties to be inviolable. We consider the following to be fundamental values: dignity and the free development of the individual; respect for work; and sensitivity to exploitation, injustice, and suffering. We value truth, modesty, and honesty.

3. We are in favor of a strong, law-abiding Polish state and of a parliamentary democracy and multiparty system.

We advocate regional self-government and employee self-management as well as the freedom for society to organize itself.

4. We want a Poland that benefits from the achievements of science and participates in a rich and diverse cultural life. We are opposed to unequal educational opportunities and in favor of universal access to all levels and forms of education.

We respect complete freedom in learning and the arts. The state has a duty to make the achievements of all the expressions of world culture accessible to the citizens and to create conditions for fostering and developing national culture.

5. We deem tolerance to be an inalienable value of public life. We deem the following to be inviolable: freedom of expression, conscience, and religion. We support the separation of church and state and the neutrality of the state with respect to the religious conviction of citizens. We believe that the rights of minorities in every field should be respected: political, cultural, religious, and ethnic.

6. We link our ideals to the Polish socialist tradition, the present-day searches of the Polish left, and the achievements of Socialist International.

The Economy and Social Justice

7. There can be no freedom without social justice. This cannot be accomplished without the honest distribution of what has been rationally and efficiently produced.

8. We are in favor of employing the economic principles that have proven themselves elsewhere in the world under Polish conditions. We are in a favor of a market economy with elements of interventionism and state social responsibility; of an economy in which there are a variety of sectors; and of the gradual replacement of state property by social property, which will assume various forms and will ensure that the most efficient use possible is made of production assets. State treasury property should be restricted to rational and economically essential dimensions.

While recognizing the need to expand the private sector, we reject the dogma that only private ownership is compatible with the logic of the market economy and that only it can ensure the highest degree of efficiency.

Work forces must enjoy the inviolable right of participating in decisions concerning changes in ownership and the joint management of enterprises.

The change from state ownership cannot be turned into the speculative selling off of national wealth. Natural resources and the natural environment should be accorded constitutional protection.

9. People should be assessed and paid according to the results of their work. We are in favor of a system of management that is based on effective and productive labor and that rewards individual and collective enterprise. We do not accept unemployment as a permanent economic mechanism. We consider the right to work to be an inalienable right of man.

10. We are in favor of the just distribution of the costs of socioeconomic changes among various social groups and property sectors.

11. We are against depriving people of social achievements and withdrawing their guarantees of a stable life. While operating within the limits set by the law, we will employ all available means to ensure that the appropriate state, self-management, and social institutions provide a decent life for people who earn their living by way of their own efforts. They must also be guaranteed conditions for making use of the achievements of civilization, especially well-organized education, medicine, culture, and recreation.

We are in favor of genuine, not just pro forma, equal rights for women. State social policy must safeguard social security. It cannot be replaced by respectable charitable activity.

We are advocates of scientific and technical progress, a process that is causing the profoundest revolution in today's international economy. There is no other way national development can be achieved.

12. Market mechanisms cannot be a substitute for the state in the conduct of economic policy. We believe that economic policy should serve to raise efficiency and modernize the economy, increase its competitiveness and satisfy basic social needs, such as food and housing.

13. Economic development cannot proceed at the expense of the natural environment, which would pose a threat to the existence of our society.

14. We are in favor of developing the countryside, of reducing inequalities pertaining to life and work between town and country. We are advocates of the development of the family farm. We want all sectors in farming to be treated equally. We will cooperate with farmers in solving the social problems that arise when market mechanisms force small agricultural holdings out of business. We oppose selling off Polish land into foreign hands.

A Place in Europe and the World

15. The independence and sovereignty of the state and their defense constitute an inalienable benefit for us. We have to decide on Polish issues ourselves and oppose any kind of outside interference.

We reject domination and force in relations between states and support disarmament and greater confidence.

Our goal is solidarity and friendship between equal peoples, who will jointly face current global challenges. We support the idea of a common European home inhabited by secure and kind neighbors.

We defend the Polish raison d'etat, the cornerstone of which is the right to live within the present, secure borders.

We consider it particularly important to develop friendly and good- neighborly relations with our allies.

We recognize the right of all peoples to self-determination on condition that the rights and interests of partners are not violated.

16. We are an integral part of the European and world left. We support the development of cooperation with all leftist formations that are striving for democracy and the just resolution of global, national, and social problems. We particularly value association with the Socialist International.

The Party

17. The party is guided by the wishes and aspirations of people who earn their living with their own hands and minds. It brings together all those who identify themselves with its program, irrespective of their world outlook.

18. We support freedom for ideological and political searches as well as the development of initiatives from below. Different opinions and aspirations within our ranks can manifest themselves in the form of separate platforms or programmatic themes.

19. We wish to cooperate with all left-wing formations. We wish to cooperate with the National Trade Union Confederation, Solidarity, and other trade unions, with associations, with self- management and cooperative movements. We are open to cooperation with the peasant movement. We sympathize with the youth, ecological, and peace movements.

20. In working for national accord, we wish, while preserving our own identity, to cooperate with other parties—and not only with those belonging to the left—in creating a modern political culture, whose fundamental elements are: respect for different arguments and the ability to arrive at compromises on issues of basic importance for the nation. Warsaw, 28 January, 1990.

'Moral Bankruptcy' Result of PZPR Congress

AU0802134490 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 30 Jan 90 p 2

[Jerzy Szperowicz commentary: "The Funeral Was Interrupted by News of a Birth"]

[Text] This somewhat tasteless headline for the final congress of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] is suggested by the nature of the events that took place in the Congress Hall, rather than by the author's personal malice. On her death-bed, the deceased realized that she had no heirs to whom she could bequeath her property and therefore decided to produce some.

By adapting the order of debate requirements for accepting testamentary procedures, the assembled delegates showed that they were in favor of materialism and that there can be no talk of any break in continuity with the PZPR. The party that came into existence during a break in the congress debates—a break that had been specially provided for—chose to accept the rights and obligations under the PZPR's last will and testament, and to a certain extent, became an internal party matter for its predecessor.

The name, the statutes, the programmatic declaration, along with the leaders, were all changed, but such things happen quite often in the communist movement. The real question is: Did the PZPR really cease to exist in the early hours of Monday morning when, amid the applause, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski stepped off the stage (no metaphor) with a bunch of flowers like a toreador leaving the arena? In my opinion it did not. I am thinking here of all the delegates who have spiritually disassociated themselves from the PZPR and the people who elected them. The legacy of the PZPR will continue to pervade the way they think about political goals and costs, the way they deal with their opponents, the boredom of their meetings, and the stiff jargon of their official documents. I think that disintegration will come in a couple of years.

The preservation of the spiritual and material continuity of the PZPR by Kwasniewski's Social Democracy is good news for those congress delegates who called for an end to the settling of old scores and no further programmatic changes. "Whatever we may do and say today, we shall always remain dirty Commies." This statement proclaims a lifelong rejection by society. The delegates applauded vigorously, but the result of their voting shows that they are trying to break out of this isolation, despite the fact that the sound of the windows being broken by the protesters gathered outside the Congress Hall seemed to suggest that it would be better to lock oneself away somewhere in gloomy resignation.

At the PZPR Congress—both in its funereal part, as well as in its founding part (also called a congress)—it seems that everything that could have been said by this segment of the Polish left was said. It was notable that the freedom of speech—only interrupted a couple of times by the heckling of reformers—deprived the assembled delegates of their ability to listen. On Monday, one of the delegates, seeing that emotions were rising around the debate on the PZPR's testamentary provisions—some of the lawyers suggested a politically more acceptable way of choosing the people to be charged with disposal of party property—cried: "What are we doing? Fiszbach's Social Democratic Union has renounced any claim to PZPR's legacy, and here we are burdening ourselves with the tangible proof that clearly shows that we are nothing more than a continuity of the PZPR." Again, there was applause, but the voting went the other way.

An incomparably greater burden weighs heavily on the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, namely, the inability of the delegates in the new party to condemn the events of March 1968—the unbridled campaign of chauvinism, anti-Semitism, and the attack on the intelligentsia. The delegates were too eager to accept Comrade Poreba's argument that it was sufficient to revoke party penalties against all who were disciplined in the past. Somebody humorously warned that the restoration of PZPR party membership to all those people who had been deprived of it might be interpreted as a ploy to gain a majority in the Sejm and Senate. This gibe was an automatic response to Comrade Poreba's supporters. The taint of past PZPR membership is sufficient to ruin anyone's political aspirations.

The greatest achievement of this congress may prove to be the formation of Fiszbach's Social Democratic Union. "It is good that the names are similar. It will be easier to amalgamate them in the future," commented somebody from the Kwasniewski camp. Fiszbach's Social Democratic Union is currently only one tenth of the size of its competitor, but this is how it looks from the Congress Hall. For the thousands of members of the extinct PZPR, it might be Fiszbach's party that proves to be the alternative to the duplicity that coerced these members to listen to PZPR's moral and patriotic sermons issuing from the mouths of political thugs, and lectures on tolerance from political militants.

The rapture with which the Congress Hall allowed itself to be swayed by Aleksander Kwasniewski, a competent and effective speaker, and also by the 19-year-old Edyta Kwapisz (a student from Zary, and member of the PZPR since last September), was both menacing and touching. It illustrated the extent of the mental confusion and moral bankruptcy of the whole gathering.

The change of colors used illustrates the how everything was done according to the regulations. A red arrow denoted the ballot papers used to approve the dissolution of the PZPR; blue was used for the Founding Congress ballot papers used to approve the new name of the party; and the new leaders were elected on pink ballot papers of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic.

Finally, I would like to mention the exorbitant cost of a press pass to the congress (Z180,000) and the laudable lack of restrictions on journalists who covered it.

Kwasniewski on New Social Democracy Party

PM0602155290 Paris LE FIGARO in French
1 Feb 90 p 5

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, by Laure Mandeville in Warsaw—date not given]

[Text] Warsaw—[Mandeville] A former member of the Polish Communist Party, you are now chairman of a social democratic party. How do you define social democracy?

[Kwasniewski] Our social democratic party will have to accept parliamentary democracy and work for that. Like all other social democratic parties in the world, it will function as a protagonist in a pluralist society. I would also like the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic to make its contribution to Poland's return to Europe. We want to cooperate with the West European social democratic parties to eradicate as quickly as possible the economic and political differences thatseparate our countries.

[Mandeville] Are you sure that all the members of your new party would be capable of giving as precise a definition of social democracy as yours? In other words, have they really become social democrats overnight?

[Kwasniewski] Not yet! In this new party there is a significant group of people who know what social democracy is. That group emerged victorious from the congress. But there are also people who do not believe in it. They did not join it.

[Mandeville] Were you formerly a convinced Communist?

[Kwasniewski] I have never been a Communist. The Communist Party was a ruling party, a federation of very diverse forces and groups. I have always been part of the reformers. I was very interested in social democratic concepts, and the Eurocommunist movement as it was defined in Spain. But I joined the party because I had left-wing convictions.

[Mandeville] What is the reason for the split among the reformers? Why are there two social democratic parties?

[Kwasniewski] Tadeusz Fiszbach knew that he could not win at the congress. I also think that we have different concepts of the position which social democracy will hold in the country's life. In our party, we want to create an alternative to the existing government, even if we intend to cooperate with it. The Fiszbach group is placing itself at the government's disposal. He does not think that the left can now have any meaning in Poland.

[Mandeville] Perhaps he is not wrong, the left is a dirty word in Poland. How many years do you think it will take for it to regain the people's support?

[Kwasniewski] That is a very difficult question. The process will be very lengthy, but I am convinced that the left is necessary to the Polish political system, to ensure that it is truly pluralist. It will be necessary to open dialogue with all the left-wing forces.

[Mandeville] What results do you expect the forthcoming elections to produce?

[Kwasniewski] It is very difficult to say. What is certain is that the more time goes by, the less we will have to answer for the former Communist Party's mistakes.

[Mandeville] You are now 35 years old. Do you not regret that you did not choose to side with Solidarity? Did you contemplate that?

[Kwasniewski] I was relatively close to Solidarity in its early days. What frightened me in that movement was the impetus that carried it along. Everybody chose that path. It was a period in which almost 10 million people joined it. I thought it was an approach devoid of originality and courage. The martial law period proved that that was not the case.... But I have no regrets.... I hope there will be a big variety of parties. I hope that we will be increasingly close to those Western countries that have always been our role models. I think that that is possible.

Trzeciakowski on Role of Western Aid

LD0602202290 Warsaw PAP in English
1746 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Davos, Feb. 6—Minister Witold Trezeciakowski, Poland's delegate to the World Economic Forum here gave a statement for PAP in which he said among other things:

Western assistance plays a major role in stabilizing the Polish economy. The West partially undertook to ease the burden of debt servicing which permits us to focus on combating inflation. Of capital significance here is the food aid from the West which makes it possible to eliminate the threat of a social revolution over lack of flour. That is, lack of bread. This would mean a dramatic development of events. The supply of several hundred thousand tonnes of wheat helped us fill a gap which we could not have filled otherwise.

As for the re-structuring of agriculture, financial means and machines permitted us to combat monopolization in rural areas and start the programme of modernization of infrastructure in the countryside.

We have also been promised assistance from investment funds connected with the setting up of new banks in Poland, a European-Polish bank for one; all these are elements which create a chance to overcome the crisis.

Minister on Unemployment, FRG Jobs

LD0702054890 Warsaw PAP in English 2332 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 6—Jacek Kuron, minister of labour and social policy, during his weekly televised address speaking on money emigration said in part:

During the recent visit to the FRG, the Polish delegation signed an agreement which permits a group of one thousand people to undertake jobs in the FRG for a period of 12 or so months.

With the money earned in the FRG, those persons, members of housing cooperatives, will be able to finish the construction of their own flats. Meanwhile talks on season employment in the FRG are still in the initial phase.

Speaking on unemployment and allowances Kuron said: Till this moment one cannot speak about unemployment in Poland. There are a number of spheres, hospitals, post service, trade, in which shortages in the labour force paralyses its functioning. We still face a long period of time of absorbing the surplus in the labour force.

For those who would want to prepare themselves for a new profession, training allowances reaching 80 to 100 per cent of their hitherto wage are provided, said Minister Kuron.

Siwicki Seeks Ban on Soldiers in Politics

LD0802121290 Warsaw PAP in English 1608 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 7: Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received Minister of National Defence General Florian Siwicki here today.

Siwicki asked the premier to launch a government legislative initiative which would ban career soldiers from belonging to political parties and pursuing political activities.

Regular soldiers would have to suspend their party membership for the period of their mandatory military service. This would be in line with the international civic and political rights covenants and with respective regulations of the inter-war period.

Further on Press Titles Cessation

AU0802122490 Warsaw TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA in Polish 3-4 Feb 90 pp 1,2

[Report signed '(ZK)']

[Text] An extended meeting of the editorial council of TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA took place on Friday, 2 February. It was attended by Leszek Miller, general secretary of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP]; and Slawomir J. Tabkowski, chairman of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers Publishing Cooperative.

Chairman J. Tabkowski reported on a resolution adopted by the Council of the Workers Publishing Cooperative on 2 February, according to which the TRYBUNA LUDU publishing house ceases to exist as of 5 February. On the same day, the production of the following titles will cease and their editorial staff will be disbanded: NOWE DROGI, PROBLEMY POKOJU I SOCJALIZMU, and PORADNIK ROLNIKA I PSZ CZELARZA.

At the same time, a new style will be established by the end of February for the SDRP daily, the CHLOPSKA DROGA weekly, and the following voivodship weeklies, all of which were hitherto published by TRYBUNA LUDU: TYGODNIK PLOCKI, TYGODNIK CIECHANOWSKI, TYGODNIK SIEDLECKI, TYGODNIK OSTROLECKI, and ZYCIE ZYRARDOWSKIE.

Referring to the resolution, Chairman Tabkowski said that he had decided to recall, as of 2 February, Jerzy Majka from the post of editor in chief of TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA and to entrust this post to Marek Siwiec. Until now, Marek Siwiec was editor in chief of the ITD weekly, before which he edited the Krakow STUDENT. He is 35 years old. At the SDRP Congress, he was elected to its Supreme Council.

Chairman Tabkowski stressed that these decisions are strictly a respond to economic circumstances (rising prices of paper, rising costs of printing, etc.) The elimination of some titles and creation of others involves the termination of the employment contracts of all those hitherto employed by the TRYBUNA LUDU publishing house. As far as the editorial team of TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA is concerned, the new editor in chief will probably ask old staffers to stay on with the new publishing house, said J. Tabkowski.

Marek Siwiec said that a dramatic struggle to survive on the market at a time of soaring publishing costs is in store for the staffers of the new SDRP daily. However, the changes in the paper will reflect the changes in the party itself.

SDRP General Secretary Leszek Miller thanked Jerzy Majka for his work. The changes taking place to TRYBUNA possess a political undercurrent. TRYBUNA LUDU was formed when the Polish United Workers Party was formed. Today, the new party is expected to forge a new paper.

Leszek Miller expressed his appreciation for the staffers of TRYBUNA LUDU, who had contributed to the reformist search and intellectual revival prior to the SDRP Founding Congress.

Thanking them for their four years of cooperation with him, Jerzy Majka said that the changes possess not only an organizational undercurrent, but a political one as well. He also underlined the fact that lately he had edited a paper which served as an alternative to a large part of the media.

The Council of the Workers Publishing Cooperative also resolved to close down the "Book and Knowledge" publishing house as of 5 February. In this connection, the chairman of the Cooperative recalled Witold Skrabalak from the post of chairman of "Book and Knowledge," and charged Zbyslaw Rykowski with the task of organizing a new publishing house.

Citizens' Press Federation Established

LD0602210190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] During a meeting of representatives of the independent press in the Sejm building, the Citizens' Press Federation was established. Altogether there are about 600 titles in the new regional and local press, which have been made possible thanks to social resources. Finances are the most troublesome problem. Members of the federation have decided to take steps through deputies, who are journalists, to initiate legislative action to suspend temporarily the turnover tax levied on the citizens' new publications.

New Daily Paper Published in Gdansk

LD0802173390 Warsaw PAP in English 1515 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 8—The first pilot issue of a new daily titled "GAZETA GDANSKA" came out here today. The paper refers to the tradition of "GAZETA GDANSKA" which was published between the end of the 19th century and 1939.

The daily's editor-in-chief Henryk Galus told PAP that the paper was not going to be a local one only and in the future it would extend its interest onto the whole northern part of Poland.

"GAZETA GDANSKA" is published by the Polish-Swedish company "Semeco."

Demonstration Over Food Shortages, Media Freedom

AU0802211190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Over 1,000 people gathered this evening [8 February] in Bucharest's Victory Square to demonstrate for televison's true independence. Among those asking for free television were many workers from the 23 August, Vulcan, and Republica enterprises as well as independent students, ROMPRES agency reports.

Along with this demonstration, more than 1,000 soldiers from a military unit in (Topraizari) rallied in Victory Square to ask Prime Minister Petre Roman to hear their complaints. They demanded better living conditions and complained about shortages of food, heating, and light. The leaders of the demonstration pointed out that until the revolution, they had worked under very harsh conditions on the megalomaniac construction of the Constanta-South Harbor.

Government Elaborates on Lupoi Resignation

AU0802154090 Paris AFP in English 1533 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Bucharest, Feb 8 (AFP)—In the latest reflection of the power struggle in Romania, a government source said Thursday that Tourism Minister Mihai Lupoi, who announced his resignation Wednesday, had in fact been dismissed for "overstepping" the limits of his office.

Speaking on the eve of talks between the ruling National Salvation Front (NSF) and some 30 opposition parties to set up a new interim government, the source said that Mr. Lupoi had made an unauthorised trip to Moscow, then "boasted" about meeting President Mikhail Gorbachev there.

He had also opposed returning to state authorities goods pilfered by the late president Nicolae Ceausescu, the source said. In particular, he was accused of proposing that a building originally belonging to the Romanian Academy be converted into a cabaret.

Mr. Lupoi, an army officer, was the first person to speak on television after Mr. Ceausescu was overthrown on December 22. Defence Minister Aldea Militaru [name as received, bureau records show Nicolae Militaru as defense minister], who criticised him at the time for trying to boost his own image, led the attack on Mr. Lupoi at Wednesday's NSF meeting, the source said.

The NSF and representatives of some 30 opposition parties were due to meet here Friday to discuss establishment of a new Provisional Council of National Union which will run Romania until general elections are held on May 20.

Valentin Gabrielscu, spokesman for the National Peasants' Party, said he expected the debate to be fierce, since some of the opposition parties were no more than "creatures of the NSF", which has been accused by its opponents of trying to hold onto power. [passage omitted]

NSF Decree on Dismissal

AU0802182290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Decree on Dismissal of the Minister of Tourism:

For failure to fulfill certain tasks, for overstepping the bounds of the mandate entrusted to him, and for the use of abusive methods in running the Ministry of Tourism, the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] decrees:

Sole Article. Mihai Lupoi is dismissed from the position of minister of tourism.

Government Press Bureau on Foreign Trade

AU0202200590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1920 GMT 2 Feb 90

["From the Press Bureau of the Romanian Government"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/2/1990—In connection with the question ROMANIA LIBERA daily of 1 February asked Prime Minister Petre Roman, regarding regulations of foreign trade activity the Press Bureau of the Government states the following:

Immediately after formation the government has concerned itself with the provision of a legal framework to match the new revolutionary stage in the country's development, Romania's openness and participation in the world exchange of assets.

Besides the measures adopted over this period which have created a new legislative framework removing barriers that hampered foreign trade activity a number of draft decrees-laws are being finalized concerning the organization of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Romania on the principle of autonomy; the improvement of the system of authorization and functioning of foreign trade firms and economic organizations in Romania; the setting up of joint ventures in Romania and other countries.

The provisions of these normative acts will ensure the broadening of the necessary legal framework for the unfolding of all commercial activities of Romania on new bases, for a better economic cooperation with other states, with private firms and companies.

Concrete and viable ways are being surveyed to reshape the whole foreign trade mechanism, identify new forms apt to simplify formalities and facilitate various and ever broader contacts with foreign partners, and to expand trade and cooperation ventures with all the countries of the world.

National Economy Minister Visits Iraq

AU0202222890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2030 GMT 2 Feb 90

["Romanian-Iraqi Talks"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/2/1990—Over January 29 - February 2, 1990, Colonel-General Victor Stanculescu, minister of national economy, paid an official visit to the Republic of Iraq at head of a government delegation.

The Romanian minister was received by the chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, president of the Republic of Iraq, Saddam Husayn, and conducted talks with Sa'dun Hammadi, member of the Revolutionary Command Council, deputy prime minister, Sa'di Mahdi Salih, chairman of the National Assembly, as well as with other members of the Iraqi Government. On the occasion a regular session of the joint Romanian-Iraqi Governmental Commission of Economic, Technical and Scientific Cooperation and Trade was held.

Economy Minister Stanculescu on Priorities

AU0702203390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1823 GMT 7 Feb 90

["News Conference at the Ministry of National Economy"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/2/1990—Romania needs every enterprise in existence but, unfortunately, only 80 per cent of the capacity is currently in operation, said on February 6 Mr Victor Stanculescu, minister of the national economy in a news conference. He stressed that the unprofitableness of some economic units was relative, being mainly caused by the fact that for the moment they did not get the proper supply of electricity, natural gas, copper, coal, lead and lead concentrates and other raw materials. In order to make up for the shortage in the country's energy balance, for instance, 1,700 MW and 685 million cubic meters of natural gas were imported in January. The minister of the national economy listed some failures in the economy: The coal is not extracted in the planned amounts which means overworking the hydroelectric power plants, the domestic methane production has declined, which bears especially on the production of chemical fertilizers needed in agriculture.

A major concern of the ministry, V. Stanculescu said, was to improve the population's supply with food. Import was resorted to for this.

Speaking of the monetary circulation, the minister of the economy showed that under normative acts issued by the National Salvation Front Council 38 billion lei extra real incomes for the population were ensured. Other 22 billion lei will add as a result of new measures now in the process of endorsement, while an increase in the amount of goods on sale is expected to help controlling inflation tendencies.

As for unemployment, he pointed out that it was a relative phenomenon since some sectors of the economy actually suffered from acute shortage of manpower.

Touching the investments, Mr Victor Stanculescu showed that possibilities were currently analyzed of bringing foreign capital to the Romanian economy, either in form of joint companies or in other forms to be discussed with foreign partners.

We pay special heed, the minister said, to starting the soonest the dialogue with the representatives of all political parties, in view of seeking out feasible ways of settling the various issues connected with the rehabilitation of the national economy, with the building of a sound, modern economy.

Trade Agreement With Mongolia Signed 7 Feb

AU0702195890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1822 GMT 7 Feb 90

["Romanian-Mongolian Protocol"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/2/1990—February 7, a protocol between the Governments of Romania and Mongolia was signed in Bucharest regarding mutual deliveries of goods and payments for 1990. The document, signed by Stefan Stancu, deputy foreign trade minister, and Soryn Ghenden, Mongolia's ambassador in Romania, provides for a 12 per cent rise in bilateral exchanges of goods, compared to the provisions for this year in the long-term accord.

Commercial Protocol With India Signed 8 Feb

AU0802151990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1424 GMT 8 Feb 90

["Growing Romanian-Indian Commercial Exchanges"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/2/1990—The commercial exchanges between Romania and India will grow 18.4 per cent this year from the previous one. Such an increase is recorded by the protocol between the governments of the two countries on goods exchanges and payments for 1990 signed Thursday at the Ministry of Foreign Trade in Bucharest. In the main, the Romanian exports to India include oilfield, metallurgical and construction materials equipment, electronic and electrotechnological equipment, chemicals, railroad equipment, while the imports from that country refer to iron and manganese ores, colour T.V. receivers and tubes, concentrated fodder, cotton, coffee, and other consumer goods.

Interview With Liberal Party's Campeanu

AU0502092690 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 24 Jan 90 p 3

[Interview with Radu Campeanu, general secretary of the National Liberal Party, by Corneliu Vlad; place and date not given]

[Text] [Vlad] Esteemed Mr. Radu Campeanu, immediately after the war, you were the president of the National Liberal University Youth and now you are the general secretary of the National Liberal Party, which was created recently.

[Campeanu] As a matter of fact, recreated, reborn on 6 January 1990.

[Vlad] Let us therefore speak about the party that you will go to the elections with.

[Campeanu] Our party's first wish is to make the revolution in Romania achieve its true aim, namely genuine democracy and not a departure from it. As far as the concept of governing is concerned, the Liberal Party is situated, I would say, in the center of the Romanian political trend (esichierului). It advocates a constitutional parliamentary structure, and views the question of a monarchy in Romania as not topical. This question can be solved only in the future through a referendum.

The liberal concept—first and foremost the philosophical concept and then the political and economic ones—places individual freedom, in all its aspects, and private initiative in the center of the general interest and attention.

Thus, we are for the freedom of intellectual creativity—that is the opportunity to write, think, and communicate ideas freely. And we also are for complete freedom in artistic creativity, and for freedom of creed, so that everyone can be faithful to his religion. We believe that private initiative is the only way to ensure economic prosperity and the only way to create wealth. Individual wealth will be conducive to social well-being. However, to make this initiative possible, it is necessary for private ownership to be ensured and guaranteed, including rural, peasant ownership. We believe that peasants have to be the owners of the lands they cultivate. People in the city, who want to settle in the countryside to become farmers, have to be assisted and they should also own the land they will farm. We are not for collective peasant property, but should peasant owners desire to join a corporate body, they are free to do so.

[Vlad] State farms?

[Campeanu] It goes without saying that state farms offer the possibility of land availability. We believe that a limited, but sufficient number of state farms has to be retained, even if only for reasons of modernization and specialization in agriculture.

[Vlad] What shall we do with big industry?

[Campeanu] As far as industrial production and trade are concerned, we favor privatization. However, this has to take place in such a way as to avoid unemployment at the social level, and inflation at the economic level. First: the acquisition of the industrial property by one investor possessing capital; second: the acquisition of the property by a group of investors, thus leading to the setting up of a limited company; third: the acquisition of the property by the employees of the given enterprise or unit, with the specification that the banking system will grant this category of buyers advantageous credits in terms of interests and deadlines, while the state will grant—on the basis of a law—the employees the right to their option, that is the right to have their priority say.

Anyhow, the economy of tomorrow will have to respect the economic principles of the free market and there will be a whole number of enterprises of public interest that will probably remain under state administration.

We are very interested in a profound reform in the educational system in the sense of respect for truth, efficiency, and modernization—that is, in the sense of adapting to the requirements of the current society.

[Vlad] What is the Liberal Party doing these days?

[Campeanu] We have reestablished and formed a provisional leadership, which will control party activities until the next congress, whose date is not yet set. At this point, registration of members varies between 600-800 in Bucharest. Unfortunately, until recently, Bucharest was the only registration point, located at party headquarters on Balcescu Boulevard, No. 21. We were surprised by the extraordinary enthusiasm of people in the capital and counties who came to Bucharest to be delegated for organizing things at the local level. We have or will have organizations with headquarters in Iasi, Brasov, Timisoara, Craiova, Galati and so forth. What is remarkable is the large contingency of young people.

[Vlad] What about those who also call themselves liberals, without being members of your party?

[Campeanu] These small and marginal initiatives are regrettable and may harm the cause. Therefore, we invite all those of good faith, who want to serve more than their personal ambitions, to come to the source—that is, the place where the genuine National Liberal Party is.

'Prague Spring' Leader Jiri Pelikan Visits

AU0702180290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1622 GMT 7 Feb 90

["Jiri Pelikan: The Elections in Romania a Test in Democracy"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/2/1990—Jiri Pelikan, one of the leaders of the "Prague Spring," now in Bucharest as the president of an economic research institute in Rome to meet members of the Romanian Government and representatives of a number of political parties, gave an interview to the newspaper "ROMANIA

LIBERA" sharing his impressions of the meetings he had in the Romanian capital city. Mr Pelikan welcomed the dynamic political life in Romania, the fact that people spoke openly about real problems, that pluralism of opinions and of political parties was at work. He expressed his belief in the complete victory of democracy in Romania, opining that the elections would be the first important test in democracy.

Spanish Foreign Minister Pays Official Visit

AU0502212890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1959 GMT 5 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/2/1990—Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez arrived in Bucharest on Monday, February 5 night for an official visit Romania. He stated on arrival at the Otopeni Airport that Spain and Romania were two Latin countries, two old European countries. "We are tied to Romania by a great friendship and it is a personal satisfaction for me to meet with the Romanian People."

The guest was welcomed by Sergiu Celac, Romanian foreign minister.

Antonio Nunez Garcia Sauco, Spanish ambassador in Buharest and Embassy staff attended.

Meets Roman

AU0602170690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1602 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Spanish Foreign Minister Received by the Romanian Premier"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/2/1990—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman received Tuesday the minister of foreign affairs of Spain, Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, now on an official visit in Bucharest.

The interview was attended by Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac and the Spanish ambassador to Bucharest.

In a statement to the Spanish and Romanian press at the end of talks, the Romanian premier, answering a question referring to the current democratization process in Romania, expressed his belief that "the accords reached so far among the political groupings created in the country are telling proofs of the firmly advancing Romanian democracy."

Speaking about the Romanian-Spanish relations he assessed non-existent so far, the prime minister showed that all possibilities should be considered for the development of cooperation between the two countries, taking into account the feelings linking the Romanian and Spanish peoples.

Received by Iliescu

AU0602233290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1934 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Ion Iliescu Receives the Spanish Foreign Minister"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/2/1990—Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front Council, received Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, Spanish foreign minister, who is paying an official visit to Romania.

Attending was the Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac.

Meets Economy Minister

AU0602233490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1939 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Romanian-Spanish Interview"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/2/1990—The foreign minister of Spain, Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, had an interview with the Romanian minister of the national economy, Victor Stanculescu, on Tuesday [6 February].

The same day, the Spanish chief diplomatist laid a floral wreath in the Romana Square, a tribute to the martyrs fallen in the revolution of December 1989.

Conveys Greetings; Further Activities

AU0702104690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0901 GMT 7 Feb 90

["Spanish Foreign Minister's Visit to Bucharest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/2/1990—A talk between the President of the National Salvation Front Council Ion Iliescu and the visiting minister of foreign affairs of Spain, Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, was held on Tuesday 6 February.

The Spanish chief diplomatist conveyed friendly greetings from King Juan Carlos and Premier Felipe Gonzalez. The guest was appreciative of the deep-going renewal of Romania and expressed the sympathy and solidarity of the Spanish people and government with the Romanian people for the fulfilment of its aspirations to democracy and dignity.

Ion Iliescu thanked the Spanish Government and people for their solidarity with Romania as well as for their aid.

The interview occasioned a presentation of the prospects opened by the popular revolution in the political, economic and social areas, in the development of democracy, in ensuring the framework for the manifestation of political pluralism, for the unhampered activity of all political parties in the perspective of the May 1990 free elections.

The colloquitors expressed their belief that the democratic transformations in Romania opened promising prospects to the traditional ties of friendship between our two countries with wellknown affinities of language and culture.

The Spanish foreign minister also met with Premier Petre Roman with whom he approached questions of joint interest.

In the morning talks were held between Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac and Francisco Fernandez Ordonez.

The two ministers surveyed aspects of the Romanian-Spanish links, their development prospects, the priorities of this development.

The Spanish minister had an interview with the minister of the national economy, Victor Stanculescu. Possibilities were underscored to expand trade and economic cooperation between Romania and Spain.

Tuesday evening Francisco Fernandez Ordonez and his Romanian counterpart Sergiu Celac attended a cocktail party given by Spain's ambassador in Bucharest Antonio Nunez Garcia Sauco.

Tuesday the Spanish Foreign Minister Francesco Fernandez Ordonez met and had talks with representatives of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party and of the Social Democratic Party.

Grants News Conference

AU0702183690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1628 GMT 7 Feb 90

["News Conference"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/2/1990—During a news conference held in Bucharest on February 7, Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez conveyed the Spanish people and government's sympathy for Romania, "a country that managed to make so rapid a passage from dictatorship to a true process of democratization and freedom."

"I came to Bucharest to bring Spain's support to the process of democratization and reestablishment of the Romanian people's freedom," the Spanish minister said, showing his country was willing to start an immediate intense cooperation with Romania in various areas of activity, such as culture, tourism, agriculture, staff training, etc.

"I informed the Romanian foreign minister of the decisions made at the Brussels meeting of the foreign ministers of EEC countries on the extension to Romania, too, of the aid currently given to Hungary and Poland. At the same time, in the months ahead it is possible to conclude a cooperation agreement aimed at facilitating the access of Romanian products in EEC markets," the guest said, adding that his visit to Romania was a fresh start in an old friendship between two Latin countries.

Referring to the Spanish foreign minister's visit to Romania, Sergiu Celac, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, said: "This was not just a visit, it was a substantial visit, full of content, which highlighted a deep, rational understanding of the palpable processes under way in Romania."

Concludes Visit

AU0702202890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1818 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/2/1990—Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, Spanish foreign minister, concluded the official visit he paid to Romania, as guest of his Romanian counterpart Sergiu Celac, on February 7.

'Record' Number of Passports Issued

AU0802101190 Paris AFP in English 0214 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 8 (AFP)—Romanian authorities have issued a record 450,000 passports since early last month, or four times more than in all of 1989, an official said here Wednesday.

Romania's new leaders lifted passport restrictions on January 8, two weeks after the ouster and execution of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

Colonel Anton Vaduva, advisor to the passport department, said 100,000 passports had been issued last year.

Passports for free travels abroad are now valid five years and can be extended. They must be issued within 20 days and rejections must be justified in writing, he said.

Passports issued by the Ceausescu regime were valid for one foreign country and had to be handed in within 48 hours after returning home.

Colonel Vaduva said to date no passport demand had been rejected for reasons of "public order or stability".

* Actions of National Salvation Front Examined

90EB0234A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 26 Jan 90 pp 1,3

[Darie Novaceanu article: "Political Illiteracy"]

[Text] As may have been suspected, but not expected to happen so soon and so profoundly, the beautiful image of the revolution is beginning to darken, and so is the face of the country. There is fog inside the borders, and even thicker fog outside: The world that was looking at us in wonder during the first days, is beginning to view us as a Byzantine menagerie.

There are many explanations for this, each one of us has one. If we look beyond these explanations for reasons, there are very few at the moment. We do not claim to have found them all by ourselves. Some have not even materialized, and others are not causes, but merely mistakes, lack of discrimination, and confusion. More precisely, political illiteracy. We don't know how to move by ourselves, we feel awkward in freedom, we don't understand the alphabet of democracy that well, and too many who are ignorant are offering to teach us.

The National Salvation Front [NSF] is the author of some of these mistakes, and the consistency with which it defends them, as if they were a genuine treasure, force it to make new ones. The Front is even being helped to make mistakes: As soon as they were registered, the new parties stopped doing anything but [make mistakes]. They have long and repetitious conversations with the NSF, seem satisfied with the results, then they go back to their headquarters, gather their members, and take them out into the streets and to Victory Square. The Free Television is also helping as much as its little understanding will reach, gradually losing the splendid image of the first days as an army of the imagination.

That is how it happened that the NSF has so far issued several decree-laws—what else can there be issued—which were immediately abrogated, because they were inopportune, inoperative, senseless, and without political value. The most serious were the ones of Friday night, 12 January, when an amorphous mass did not leave the square of shame (it was a day of national mourning) until it had obtained the decree-laws. Of course, they were later abrogated. On Thursday, 25 January, infinitely less numerous but escorted by a larger number of troublemakers, the crowd returned to the same square trying to get more decree-laws. I went there on three visits, at various times of the day, and the fact that such decrees were obtainable was because the Front did not implement the 3 January decree on public assembly. Here I think we need an explanation: Another decree-law transformed the pre-22 December militias into police. A natural measure, but they forgot that the militias couldn't read, and so, of course, neither can the present police.

Another important decree-law was the one concerning the establishment of NSF units all the way down to the least significant institutions or production group. Honest and capable organizers are mowed down by the evergreen mediocrity whose sterile force uproots everything. While necessary at a regional-administrative level, because the country has to function and to have leaders and discipline, these Front units are an aberration in places where trade unions should exercize their functions.

We'll stop counting here. There may be more [mistakes], such as the articles that invited the United Nations to supervise the elections. An embarrassing invitation, which the latter doesn't know how to decline because it's uncomfortable to take each one of us by the hand to the polls. A simple "no" would be sufficient and perfectly diplomatic.

We will stop here because in the final analysis, those decrees are not that important. The Front's decrees that have substance and purpose are absolutely terrific, but no one sees them anymore. They concern our daily lives, with all their needs, from food to warmth, from light to working hours, from pension to vacation, and from the free exercise of various professions to joint enterprises. Education, health care, culture, freedom of movement and of expressions: They all benefited from those decree-laws. To be frank, we never had such rights and privileges, we had almost forgotten they existed.

Along these lines, it is good to mention the decree-laws by which the NSF pulverized the hundreds upon hundreds of laws by which the paranoid dictator was pushing us to a slow and certain death. The odious laws by which he robbed us of the last kilowatt, the last lei, and the last gram of soybean salami, i.e., tube-fed soybeans and water.

Those decrees defused the megatons of pressure and opression under which the country had sunk many yards below the level of the contemporary world. But no one seems to remember them anymore, not even we, professional or improvised journalists, since we didn't comment on them even in passing.

Aside from such mistakes, some of them unavoidable, the NSF, a pure emanation of the 22 December revolution, remains the only viable force capable of preserving and maintaining the primary functions of the country and of Romanian society. Without its existence and work a disaster would be difficult, if not impossible, to avert.

The entire Romanian nation is convinced and conscious of this truth, because we are a mature and honest people. Otherwise we would not have endured as long as we have. We have a sound understanding and political knowledge, forged under the fiercest dictatorship in our history. Political illiteracy is not one of our characteristics. At least until proof to the contrary, that belongs to former political personalities, who viewed our revolution on television, from abroad, like a spectacle, and are now descending upon us from luxurious airplanes, with candy in their pockets for those who for 50 years waited for them to arrive differently. The fresh arrivals seem convinced that the spectacle continues and they want starring roles, even though more than 80 percent of their political prestige was spent along with their age. I beg their pardon for this observation, but I am willing to honor them in the most beautiful words, provided they earn it. And, not as director of this newspaper, but as a simple citizen, I allow myself to invite them to reflection and moderation. They cannot begin the dialogue with the country where they left off, but at the point at which they found it. However historical, those parties must not read only their own history, but especially our history, the one that the tyranny didn't write, but which we all lived here, at home.

And because some of the platforms of those parties, all ready for a yet undeclared electoral campaign, seem, in their first version, like translations from foreign languages into an easily forgotten Romanian, I want to invite our jurists, our illustrious and oppressed jurists—whom the NSF is unfairly leaving unemployed—to carry out studies and voice opinions and commentaries. The manner in which such ex-personalities are behaving and acting is leaving me with a bitter taste. I am beginning to think that what we are requested to do is to place the country in their hands, leave them by themselves, and go where they came from [as published].

* National Democratic Party Lists Priorities

90EB0231B Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 27 Jan 90 p 5

[Unattributed article: "The Parties Present Themselves—The National Democratic Party of Romania"]

[Text] Free Romanian citizens have formed the National Democratic Party of Romania. In its activities, it pursues the fundamental aim of promotion and respect for truth, goodness, and the human condition in society. This is the statement made to us by the party deputy chairman, Mr. Radu Zilisteanu.

The Democratic Party considers the following to be important priority objectives in the future development of Romania: Securing legal, economic, and social guarantees for all human rights in accordance with international treaties in this area; elimination of any kind of indoctrination in economic, cultural, and administrative life; political neutrality of the justice system, the Army, education, and the church; staffing of the bureaucracy, the justice system, the Army, and the educational system with competent specialized personnel who are to be given legally binding and sufficient guarantees of independence and tenure; restoration of economic balance through reestablishment of the relationships among production, consumption, and labor on a rational and stable basis; assurance of protection for workers and intellectuals through freedom of trade union organization by individual economic sectors and cultural spheres, in accordance with the principles of the International Labor Organization; radical reorganization of agriculture subordinate primarily to farm and food interests and secondarily to industrial interests, a reorganization such that unhampered support will be given to free private initiative; reorganization of education for the purpose of immediate, non-planned, adoption and application of the most recent attainments of science and of progress in the field of pedagogy; assurance of an efficient management and marketing system, recognized as a basis for a future decentralized, computerized, and non-bureaucratic market economy; encouragement of private initiative in all areas of economic and social life; provision of a legal framework for promotion of young people up the social ladder; eradication of profiteering, graft, nepotism, corruption, and delinquency of any nature by means of rational, efficient, and humanist economic and social measures; return of Romania to the ranks of civilized nations as a dignified voice in the concert of nations. The party headquarters is in Bucharest, at No. 1 Aron Florian Street, Suite 2; telephone: 11 04 79, 11 38 14, 11 38 15.

* Romanian Peasant Party Outlines Platform

90EB0231C Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 27 Jan 90 p 5

[Unattributed article: "The Parties Present Themselves—The Peasant Party"]

[Text] According to Mr. Constantin Marinescu, member of the permanent party delegation which is the body coordinating party activities, the Romanian Peasant Party intends to militate for civil, legal, and moral protection of the peasants, students, and intellectuals of free Romania. The party platform calls among other things for introducing into the new constitution provisions for strict respect for fundamental human rights deriving from the Helsinki Convention; abolishing communist or any other type of democratic centralism and returning to a market economy—competition, supply and demand; abolishing agricultural production cooperatives and returning land to individuals; alloting two hectares per family to all peasants and city dwellers (who want them); protecting the rights of workers in plants and factories; in the event of dismissal from employment, paying a certain wage until rehiring; protecting the rights of students by negotiating with them so that they may regain independence in the universities, including the educational reforms demanded by student organizations; abolishing the two military blocs in the West and East and creating peace-loving European countries; reintroducing religion at all levels of primary and secondary education, including the inculcation of a praiseworthy behavior code to restore the Christian morality of the Romanian people; rebuilding cultural and historical edifices in their original locations to restore the history of the Romanian nation; awarding pensions to persons who have been victims of the bloody regime; awarding pensions to all political prisoners, including those for whom criminal trials were staged on the pretext that the ceausescu [lower-case initial in original] regime had no political prisoners in the country; commemorating the heroes of our country and giving wide publicity to those who sacrificed themselves for freedom. The party has its headquarters in Bucharest, at No 15, Smirdan Street; telephone 23 43 01.

* Decree on Atmosphere of Law and Legality

90EB0232B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27 Jan 90 p 3

[Unattributed article: "For a Climate of Law and Order"]

[Text] A decree law signed by National Salvation Front Council Chairman Ion Iliescu states the following.

For the purpose of protecting the dignity and strengthening the authority of persons appointed to maintain public order and calm, and for defending the achievements of the people's revolution of December 1989, the national wealth, and the fundamental rights of citizens, the National Salvation Front Council hereby decrees the following.

Article 1. (1) Insult, slander, or threatening harm, either directly or by means of direct communication, of an officer, warrant officer, noncommissioned officer, or enlisted man of the Ministry of National Defense or of the Police or other units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs carrying out a mission of securing public order and calm, protecting the national wealth, the life, bodily integrity, and property of citizens, or activities connected with the performance of such a mission, will be punished by imprisonment for a period of one to five years.

(2) Striking, or any acts of violence, as well as doing bodily harm to any of the persons and under the conditions indicated in paragraph (1) above, will be punished by imprisonment for a period of two to seven years.

(3) The acts specified in paragraphs (1) and (2) above, when committed against judges or public prosecutors, military or civilian, or against members of extraordinary tribunals engaged in the discharge or their duties or in activities connected with the discharge of their duties, will be punished by the penalties specified in those paragraphs.

(4) Persons in legal detention or imprisonment who perpetrate acts of disorder and engage in violent behavior toward military personnel performing command, guard, and supervisory duties will be punished by imprisonment for a period of three to 10 years. The sentence applied will be added to the sentence being served, except that the maximum total period of imprisonment provided by the Penal Code may not be exceeded.

Article 2. The offenses specified in Article 1 will be immediately investigated and tried, in accordance with the procedure applicable to flagrant offenses.

Parliament Debates Kosovo Situation

LD0802004190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2209 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 7 (TANJUG)—The situation in Kosovo is serious and demands fast and effective actions by all state organs in order to establish law and order and guarantee security to all citizens of the province, it was assessed by the majority of the members of the Yugoslav parliament in a debate on Wednesday evening, on the occasion of Yugoslav State Presidency President Janez Drnovsek's address.

In his speech, Drnovsek underscored the determination of the Yugoslav State Presidency, an eight-member collective state body, to "protect the constitutional order and integrity of Yugoslavia with all means available", and called for a dialogue with all the citizens of Kosovo "who wish a peaceful solution and wish to live together."

Drnovsek's moderate-toned speech, lacking "strong expressions" or rhetorics, was not met with unanimous approval of the parliament members.

Milos Aleksic, a delegate from Serbia of which the restless Province of Kosovo is a part, criticized the Yugoslav state Presidency, particularly President Drnovsek, for "inadequate couduct" during the January unrest in Kosovo. The State Presidency should have acted (?sooner), in a more principled manner and more adequately to the situation, and should have acted in a more state-like fashion, Aleksic believes, adding that Drnovsek himself through his indecisive public appearances contributed to the spreading of political confusions.

A delegate from Kosovo, Gani Miftari, condemned the demonstrations by Albanian separatists and terrorists and underscored that the situation in the provinces has deteriorated since the suspension of the special congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia constantly belated measures [words indistinct] Presidency also failed to contribute to calming the situation, Miftari said.

A delegation from Slovenia, Jamez Lukac, urged the lifting of the special measures in Kosovo because, in his view, they "do not lead to reconciliation between ethnic Albanians and Serbs" but to "the intensification of the crisis, hostilities and the negation of the institutions of the country." Instead of this, Lukac said, talks should be launched immediately with representatives of Kosovo Albanians, more specifically, with representatives of alternative political movements and not with the province's ruling League of Communists.

A delegation from Croatia, Ivo Divic, rejected the accusations of the Serbian leadership that Croatia and Slovenia are lending support to nationalists and separatists in Kosovo. Croatia urges the opening of comprehensive processes in Kosovo, and this means the opening of a dialogue with the democratic forces in the province, Divic said.

According to Radivoje Scekic from Montenegro, Yugoslavia must defend itself at all cost, as separatists and nationalists in Kosovo do not conceal their plans for creating a greater Albania.

Kosovo Assembly Holds Special Session

LD0702152590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1317 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—The general situation in Kosovo is still exceptionally serious and complex. The security situation is still completely difficult, tense and dramatic.

This assessment was made today during a special session of the Kosovo Assembly, held in connection with the situation that has arisen, by Provincial Executive Council President Jusuf Zejnulahu and Provincial Secretary for Internal Affairs Jusuf Karakusi.

Regarding the recent demonstrations, Zejnulahu said that they had been of an hostile, nationalistic and separatist nature.

We were, he said, on the threshold of open interethnic confrontations with unforseeable consequences for all our people.

Deep-seated alarm and a great fear for the future of our people and for the achievements of our socialist revolution prevailed.

Zejnulahu explained that "the vandalist behavior of the demonstrators entailed intervention of the organs of our law-governed state and violence was answered with violence." In these cases, the possibility of authority being exceeded cannot be ruled out, he added, recalling the Federal Chamber decision that all cases of the use of arms during the demonstrations should be investigated.

The president of the Provincial Executive Council also referred to the so-called alternative associations in Kosovo and made it clear that any program and initiative threatening the integrity of the country, its federal nature, the integrity of the Serbian Republic and promoting interethnic division, hatred, and confrontation are unacceptable. There is no alternative other than socialist Yugoslavia,, the integrity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of our country, and genuine autonomy of the provinces. [passage omitted including indistinct portion: references to lack off contacts and failure of differentation]

"I must say that in many places and in many situations, even when they were in a situation that required the most effective means to be used, they avoided doing that and carried out their tasks quite satisfactorily, Karakusi stressed.

After the last wave of demonstrations, aproximately 1,000 people were detained, some 200 were charged because they committed offenses, and now work is in progress to sort out and shed light—and properly—on the cases concerning all the people who threatened the security and safety of citizens, and who behaved like hooligans, and to take measures against them.

Recalling the serious consequences of the latest demonstrations, the provincial secretary said that they will slow down the process of stabilizing the situation in Kosovo. He asked the assembly to issue an appeal to all those wanting peace, freedom, and equality not to fall under the influence of enemy propaganda suggesting that they use forms of pressure and violence.

Provincial Secretary of the Economy Radman Milosavljevic pointed out the consequences of the activities of Albanian nationalists and separatists in the economy. He said that the wave of work stoppages, announced by the greater Albanian nationalists and separatists as early as at the time of the demonstrations held in Pristina on 24 January, seriously disrupted the work of industrial capacities in Kosovo. On 29 January, work stopped completely in 14 industrial establishments and partly in 10 industrial establishments. The result was that 11,00 workers in 13 municipalities were outside the production process. Work stoppages were at their most conspicuous in the municipalities of Pec, Urosevac, Suva Reka, and Gnjilane.

During the ensuing two days, while an increasing number of towns and villages were engulfed in the demonstrations, the wave of work stoppages continued to swell with the result that on 30 January work was completely or partially stopped in 36 industrial establishments with 15,000 employees. The situation was even more complex the day after, because more than 18,000 industrial workers in some 20 Kosovo municipalities stopped working. [passage omitted: details of branches of industry; problems of milk supplies]

In the debate, the delegates did not make many references to the introductory speeches, and when they did they mainly expressed disagreement with certain assessments in the papers.

The tone of the debate was set by Malisevo delegate Daut Krasnici. He presented details about the incident that took place on 30 January in the town center when policemen, apparently without reason, fired into the crowd. Krasnici repeated several times in this connection that on that day there were no gatherings or demonstrations in Malisevo.

He expressed the anger of the local people with what he said was the disinformation in the information media, which referred to the three killed in the incident as terrorists, which infuriated the people.

Krasnici blamed the provincial leadership for all that had happened in recent days in the province because, in his view, the Slovene and Croatian leadership bear maybe only one-tenth of the responsibility.

He read the demands of the Albanians in Malisevo and called on the Kosovo Assembly to issue a statement "on this tragedy, and then to take all measures so that the culprits, as he said, are individually identified and their names published."

Krasnici expressed disagreement with the view of Karakusi that in this case it is a question of the security organs exceeding their powers, because this was, according to him, a brutal attack on citizens.

Jusuf Karakusi replied that the names of the people, members of the militia, who were in Malisevo that day are known because they made a statement on the whole incident the same day. A federal commission is already investigating the circumstances, not only of this but of all incidents, and will then make a full report to the public. It was also true, he added, that on the previous day a policeman was wounded in the eye and was immediately operated on in Skopje. All cases of the use of firearms will also be examined by the federal secretary for justice. The scenes of the incidents have been photographed by a team from the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs that established that there are no traces of bullets on the Malisevo Municipal Assembly building and other buildings as claimed by citizens. [passage omitted: Krasnici replies that Karakusi himself should visit the scenes of the incidents; Jusef Zejnulahu regrets delays in investigations; debate continues with comments on other matters]

The afternoon discussion developed against the backdrop of diametrically opposing opinions of the situation and of the perception of the recent dramatic events in this province. The delegates who are Albanian nationals spoke most about the so-called abuse of weapons by militia members during their interventions. They stressed that "innocent Albanians perished." In so doing, most of them described cases "of the ill-treatment of the Albanians" by the militia. Ramus Kasumi, who introduced himself as the delegate of 15 municipalities [in Kosovo] in the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, claimed that "terror had been wreaked on innocuous and innocent Albanian people." He asked how many Serbs and Montenegrins have been killed in the last nine years, while 46 Albanians perished during the same period. According to Kasumi, terror has been exercised not on the Serbs but on the Albanians. This delegate stressed that it is not true that the Albanians are striving to have Kosovo turned into a republic because, he remarked, if this had been the case Kosovo would have been joined to Albania as early as 1945. [passage omitted]

On the other hand, the delegates of Serbian and Montengrin nationality dissociated themselves from these discussion statements and evaluated them as unacceptable and inappropriate. As far as Slobodan Maric was concerned, these stands were similar to those chanted during the demonstrations and put forward by "the alternative." He asked whose stands the people who had previously taken part in the discussion were in fact representing. Maric believes that there is an "operative headquarters of Albanian separatists in Kosovo" and demands that it be uncovered as soon as possible.

Stanoje Dogancic expressed his doubt in the claim that more than 90 percent of Albanians are for Yugoslavia. "If this were true all these things would not have occurred in Kosovo," he said.

The debate in the Kosovo Assembly continued in a polemical tone. For instance, Camil Bajraktari remarked that the Yugoslav League of Communists [LC], which after a lapse of as many as nine years had failed to resolve the Kosovo problem, must seek support from the people of the alternative. He remarked that it would not be a good thing to denounce in advance all alternative groups as being nationalistic.

Petar Jaksic responded immediately. He said that there will be no dialogue with the alternative, that is, with those who sow hatred among our nations. There can be no dialogue with Rugova, Draskovic, and Tudjman, but we will have a dialogue with all other progressive forces that are for democracy and the prosperity of Yugoslavia, Jaksic said in conclusion.

Some delegates of Albanian nationality held the opposite view, claiming that the LC that is in power now has no right to be an arbiter as to the "suitability of the alternatives."

In a heated atmosphere, statements were heard such as "that during the recent demonstrations young Albanians shed their blood only because they sought freedom and equality and not weapons, which the others had done."

At the end, after 11 hours of work, the delegates of the Kosovo Assembly unanimously approved all the measures submitted by the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Executive Council, the Presidency and the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and the Presidency and the Executive Council of Kosovo. It was decided that the assembly will ask its Executive Council and other appropriate organs to display more efficient involvement and full responsibility in the implementation of special SFRY Presidency measures in force now.

Out of the total of 10 conclusions, it is worth mentioning the one in which the assembly dissociates itself from all those who took part in the debate and who launched a crude attack on the LC and the security organs.

Albanian Intellectuals Protest to Markovic

LD0602224790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1649 GMT 6 Feb 90

["Open Letter" to Ante Markovic"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Pristina, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—A group of 24 intellectuals (if the letters after their names are anything to go by) of Albanian nationality have sent a sharp letter to Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic to protest his statement that "the gatherings of Albanian youth throughout the province are instigated by the fear of democratic reforms in Yugoslav society."

In addition to a lecture explaining democracy, and criticism of the state of emergency, the letter expresses the view that "the motives behind this unfortunate statement" are allegedly to be found in "the FEC president's ambition to be nominated for second mandate, for which he needs to ensure support from Serbia, Vojvodina, Kosovo and Montenegro."

The second motive is Markovic's alleged need to justify in the eyes of the world public and, in particular, before the European Parliament and the United States, the policy pursued by Serbia toward the Albanian population of Kosovo. The signatories accuse Markovic of "inflicting moral casualties in order to advance his personal career" when he claims that neither human rights nor freedoms of Albanian people are being violated in Yugoslavia.

In their usual manner of manipulating people's feelings, the signatories cite as their main "evidence" the unfortunate young people who died in the recent wave of demonstrations.

In Kosovo, the signatories are known as authors of various forms of propaganda literature, and some of them as hardened nationalists operating from separatist positions.

Thousands Rally in Bosnia for 'Unity'

AU0702214690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Several thousand citizens of Bosanski Petrovac, who gathered in front of the National Hero Park at a rally for Yugoslavia, expressed their deep concern at the difficult situation in the country and resolutely demanded that all disagreements be overcome. They have sent a telegram to the SFRY Presidency with demands for a united country, brotherhood and unity, and a decisive end to the Kosovo drama.

Slovene Assembly on Serbian Boycott

AU0702201190 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Milan Trobic report on the Slovene Assembly session]

[Excerpt] Dusan Sinigoj, president of the Executive Council of Slovenia, in his extensive introductory speech outlined the position of the Slovene economy, which recently has been troubled in several respects regarding the liquidity problem, the cash flow in several enterprises, the decrease in fixed investment, and the boycott by the Serbian economy that continues despite the first steps made by the two republican governments, Slovene and Serbia, to break the blockade.

The negative trends registered in Slovenia at the end of the last year continue. The volume of production is falling, stocks are noticed to be growing, debts are high, and not the least, demand is falling because of the blockade. To cite an example: The difference between the debts owed from and the liabilities due to Serbia exceeds one percent of the social product of Slovenia. It is expected that the fall in production will be the greatest in the first three months of this year. In the second half of the year, industrial production is expected to revive.

The price freeze aggravates the problems in electricity generation and coal production because electricity prices should be increased 40 percent to assure unhindered operations. Difficulties are also appearing in the railroads and other branches. The elimination of inflation and the implementation of the economic reform, of course, has its price, which must be paid so that we will not be stuck merely with principled decisions and with adopting the Federal Executive Council [FEC] program only in principle, according to well-known scenarios. Therefore, one must support the program as a whole.

Overall assessments show that the effects of the economic reform and the blockade would be shown in a further decrease of the social product of Slovenia by five percent. The same applies to the reduction of personal incomes, the spending on social activities, and the spending on common consumption. The Executive Council therefore proposes a number of measures that would reduce, mitigate, and eliminate these negative trends. The measures concern the improvement of liquidity of enterprises and of personal incomes, an increase of foreign investment, a consolidation of electricity generation and coal production, an improvement of the railroads' position, social policy, protecting the rights of the insured and retired people, solving the problem of redundant workers, and settling the financing of social activities.

The Executive Council also demanded of the FEC that it should act, within the powers under the Constitution and the laws, against those enterprises in the Socialist Republic of Serbia that have unilaterally broken relations with partners in our republic.

Dusan Sinigoj then said:

[Begin Sinigoj recording] At the same time as proposing the directions in the activities of the FEC, the Executive Council of Slovenia continues its efforts to renew cooperation between the Slovene and Serbian economies. You know that on Monday, 5 February, at the initiative of the FEC president, we met the representatives of the Executive Council of the Assembly of Serbia. We have agreed that it is necessary to eliminate all the obstacles to the working of a unified Yugoslav market.

As regards the Yugoslav policy on Kosovo, we agreed that it is necessary to build this policy in such a way that it will be possible to ensure safety and a peaceful life for all the people and nationalities in Kosovo, and to implement democracy, human rights, and the rule of the Constitution and the law. The whole text of the public release has been published.

We believe that this is only the first step toward the establishment of a dialogue. Of course, we have stressed that it is necessary to demonstrate at once with practical deeds that the policy of breaking economic and other links has been actually abandoned, because it is harmful both to Slovenia and Serbia and to all of Yugoslavia.

Yesterday afternoon we received the first (?communications) with such a message from the Gosa enterprise [of Smederevska Palanka], Crvena Zastava enterprise [of Kragujevac], and Zupa enterprise of Krusevac. We have informed the FEC accordingly.

Considering the volume assumed by the blockade so far, the Executive Council proposes that you accept the report and the assessment submitted to you for the session today, and that you empower the Executive Council to carry out the proposed measures only if visible signs of the blockade yielding are shown. [end recording]

Geza Bacic then spoke on the initiative of a group of 35 delegates of all the three chambers of the assembly on the beginning of the procedure of amending the republican Constitution and on deleting the word "socialist" from the name of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

Tone Jerovsek outlined the amendments to the law on elections and added that the role of the Socialist Alliance had changed when the alliance became an independent party.

Discussion followed at separate sessions of the three chambers of the Assembly. [passage omitted]

Slovenia LC's Juratovec on Party Reform

PM0702124090 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 4-5 Feb 90 p 24

[Interview with Tatiana Juratovec, League of Communists of Slovenia Presidium member, by Carlo Correr in Ljubljana—date not given]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana—[passage omitted] [Correr] A rather special atmosphere now surrounds the opening of the party conference. Why?

[Juratovec] We are experiencing a time of great uncertainties, of confusion. It is a very difficult moment in our relations both with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], which in practice no longer exists, and with the other republics, because of what is happening in Kosovo.

[Correr] So is the communist party in a state of crisis in Yugoslavia, too, as has happened in the rest of Eastern Europe? Has it reached the end of the road?

[Juratovec] Certainly what has happened in the other East European countries—and especially the latest tragic events in Romania—have had a crucial influence on what is happening in Slovenia. However, it must be said that this process here began before, some years ago, with the famous party democratization theses at the time when Milan Kucan was president, with the announcement of the end of the party's leading role, that is, its relinquishment of power. In my opinion, an evolutionary process is currently under way, insofar as communism as it has been implemented—I mean, real socialism—is no longer possible here; or at least it can no longer exist here in Slovenia. It is counterproductive now to talk about communism or real socialism. Both ideas and practice completely discredit the original ideal. They have only managed to bring about totalitarian systems, Bolshevik regimes. Slovenia and the Slovenian Communist Party are carrying out decisive changes in the economy and politics. This is why we are now proposing a change of the party's name.

[Correr] What will be the procedure for changing its name? Is there a range of proposals?

[Juratovec] No decision has been made on a single name. We will propose two alternatives. We incline toward a formula that includes the words "democracy," "reform," and "party."

[Correr] But will it or will it not retain the adjective "communist?"

[Juratovec] No, it will no longer be there.

[Correr] What are the repercussions of these changes on relations with the communist parties of the other republics?

[Juratovec] With this act and this conference, the League of Communists [LC] basically no longer exists. This, therefore, also ends our obligations toward this organization. Our intention is to establish, or continue, links with some republican organizations that have programs and aims similar to ours. We will also maintain them with those that are changing only partially and are similar to us and with all the emergent democratic political forces here and elsewhere—I mean in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro.

[Correr] What happened at the latest congress?

[Juratovec] We wanted to bring our party democratization program to the league's congress in Belgrade. We were prevented from doing so because there are now two clear-cut and opposing tendencies. One identifies with this program of democratic renewal, and the other with a Stalinist, Bolshevik, repressive policy, as seen particularly in Serbia's line. For instance, we are proposing an end to democratic centralism, which would have transformed the LCY into a league of Yugoslav communist leagues, an association of independent and autonomous parties. This necessity is due partly to the historical, economic, and social differences among the six republics.

[Correr] On 8 April, there will be the first democratic elections involving several different parties. Is this self-reform process arriving in time to save the Slovenian Communist Party from disappearing, or at least from being confined very much to the sidelines?

[Juratovec] We realize that the past will constitute a major handicap, partly because particularly we of the new generations that were neither the authors nor the creators of that kind of communism cannot get by by presenting ourselves to the voters and saying: "It is not our fault." However, we can also say that this was the party that proposed the transformation.

[Correr] Well, no others could do it because of the monopoly power system. Be that as it may, what impact has this transformation process had on the party? By how much has membership fallen, for instance?

[Juratovec] There are at present 100,000 members, and for the time being the fall has been surprisingly limited. However, we are waiting to discover the effects of the new law, which requires us to dissolve all party cells in public offices within 90 days of its approval, some two months ago, and in other workplaces by the end of the year. At the moment, there is some chaos, and it remains to be seen who will renew their membership. This is a major problem partly because the party's sole source of revenue is membership fees.

[Correr] What will happen when there are only one or two republics left in the federation, with an institutional system different from that of the other republics?

[Juratovec] I do not believe that coexistence with the old institutional system is possible. Even those who are at present most reluctant will have to change. As a country, we have made a pledge to this effect to the international community.

Slovene LC's Lokar on Future of Party

AU0402171990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Report on interview with Sonja Lokar, member of the Slovenia League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, by Dragan Stavljanin in Ljubljana on 4 February—recorded]

[Text] The Slovenia League of Communists [LC] conference started in Ljubljana about the same time as our program, called "Sunday at 10." My colleague Dragan Stavljanin talked to Sonja Lokar, member of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, about the party shortly before the opening of the conference. We will now carry excerpts from a fairly long interview with Sonja Lokar.

[Begin recording] [Stavljanin] What now? At this conference you will discuss all of the consequences following the adjournment [of the 14th party congress], what to do next, and so forth. The possibility of changing the name of the Slovene LC organization has already been announced. Is this a further step toward avoiding any possibility of not only renewing relations within the somewhat reformed party, but also creating a new Yugoslav communist or similar organization?

[Lokar] The Slovene LC the 14th congress is over. Not only that the congress is over, but the LC organization, with its program and relations as they used to be until that congress, no longer exists. This means that the Slovene LC has become an independent political organization with its membership, program, statute, and with its characteristics, symbols, and so forth. The Slovene LC is connected with other parts of the former LC of Yugoslavia only to the extent to which their and our program orientations coincide. There is nothing else to it.

[Stavljanin] Is this orientation, as has occasionally been claimed, connected with the forthcoming elections, that is to say, the elections campaign, at which, if they bowed to a Yugoslav organization of the LC with a unified orientation, the Slovene Communists would lose points here in Slovenia?

[Lokar] One thing is quite clear. If we had agreed to the relations that existed when we voted on (?crucial) program issues at the last congress, we would certainly lose the forthcoming elections. Not only would we lose the election, we would also lose all our members. Alright, we would not lose all of them, there would be perhaps five percent of those who would stay. This means that we would suffer a major loss. There was never any dilemma whatsoever that we cannot and must not allow that to happen.

Slovene LC Votes for Independence

LD0402230690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1518 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 4 Feb (TANJUG)—Sonja Lokar, secretary of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium, in an introductory report at the First Conference of the Slovene LC, judged that the Slovene delegates fulfilled the mandate of the Slovene LC 11th Congress and that there is no reason for it to be ashamed or renounce its previous stances.

The Conference of the Slovene Communists, which began today, is considering a report on the work of the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Congress, and a Slovene LC draft electoral program on the establishment of Slovene LC candidates for parliamentary elections and for the president of the Slovenia Socialist Republic Presidency.

According to Sonja Lokar, the Slovene LC went to the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress with the clear starting point that it is high time for the whole of the LCY to transform itself from being the most dangerous brake on progress into being the most important generator of democratic changes in Yugoslavia.

We wanted to see the LCY arise from the defeats of the seventies and eighties in such a way that it might reshape itself from being a constitutionally protected revolutionary vanguard into being one among equal parties—and into a modern socialist party with a concrete program for democratic reform in Yugoslavia, and become a federation of equal republican organizations with a statute devoid of democratic centralization and the possibility of changing entire republican organizations into permanent minorities.

Sonja Lokar judged that, unfortunately, it was not possible to achieve a position in which Yugoslav Communists in their highest meeting would be orientated toward a tolerant and well-reasoned clarification of the key issues of social development and the development of their own organization. When at the first plenary session of the 14th Extraordinary Congress the vote on the role of the LCY Declaration showed that there already were strong reform- orientated currents in the LCY, fear that it might grow from a relative majority into a congressional majority provoked the hard-bitten inflexibility of the defenders of the status quo. When there was no success in overcoming the situation, which has been established gradually over two years and which we have called the conflict of two conceptions of socialism and of the LCY itself, things reached a head and there was disintegration. The strategy of the opposing pole to that of the reform wing of the LCY was very simple—Sonja Lokar said. [Passage omitted: Sonja Lokar says the proposed ban on outvoting and the abolition of democratic centralism was met with promises to decide on changes to the statute at an unspecified time in the future; Sonja Lokar recaps the atmosphere and events at 14th LCY Congress]

According to Lokar, everything that went on at the congress made both the delegates and the entire Yugoslav public realize that in such an organisation there was no place for a transformed Slovene LC.

In the light of our determination to persevere for such a long time, and of the fact that many were in a hurry to demonstrate that once the Slovene LC was out of the way the real congress of the LCY could begin, delegates of the Croat LC and, to some extent, of the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] came to the conclusion that the LCY as it was at the time was getting too narrow and oppressive; as a result the congress was interrupted, Sonja Lokar said.

According to Sonja Lokar, the breakup of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress first of all immediately showed itself to be an achievement of the reform-orientated section of the Yugoslav Communists. It showed that the practice of equal consideration of the so-called two extremes has failed. It has demonstrated, Sonja Lokar said, that the split in the LCY is no longer taking place in terms of national but in terms of strategic conceptual standpoints. Without doubt, it has been revealed to the world public and to the public in Yugoslavia who represents the reform wing and who represents the retrograde wing in the LCY. The state has not collapsed with the split in the LCY. She hastened to explain optimistically that the reforms exist and that they will exist with or without the LCY. The democratic reform currents in all LC organizations have clearly been outlined, and in some quarters strengthened, while in others the future left wing of the party and of the movement of the new pluralism of the future constitutional character in the SFRY, [as received] is only just beginning to be formed.

According to Sonja Lokar, a real, meaningful, tolerant and well-reasoned, though more internal, discussion between the leaderships of the republican organizations of the LC and the LC Organization in the YPA has started on the differences existing between reformists on how to narrow these differences or cope with them in the most productive way.

It was quickly demonstrated that the adjourment of the congress could very rapidly be transformed from being the first herald of a democratic turnabout in the LCY into being the first victory of the reformists. In fact, Sonja Lokar judged, the internal currents in the reformist wing of each of the republican organizations of the LC became radicalized and began impatiently to encounter each other. The decline in the membership has intensified, while the organizational chaos is advancing with great speed. Since socialist orientations are becoming truly pluralistic, the possiblity and real danger of disagreement, rivalry, and sectarianism between them is strengthening. All the political pluralism positions, which are emerging everywhere in Yugoslavia, have also become radical. The darkest extremisms are trying to forge their profits from the disentegration of the LCY. To be sure, in Slovenia the political competition has assessed very well our actions at the 14th congress. But there are exceptions too, which cannot accept that we acted rationally and resolutely, but spread absurd rumors about an agreed disentegration that was needed to assist the Slovene LC in the elections.

Speaking about the situation in Kosovo, Sonja Lokar stressed that a national uprising was under way in the province by two groups fighting for the national identity of Albanians: ultra-extremists on one hand and the champions of mass alternative democratic initiatives on the other; the latter being aware of the fact that the most effective cures for the drama of Kosovo are peace, human rights for all, democracy and free elections.

Kosovo is in the grip of a tragic spiral of civil, social and state violence that the dogmatic wing in Yugoslavia is trying to use to Kosovize the entire state.

Blood is being shed in Kosovo, the general boycott has escalated, high-treason charges are being brought against those who are allegedly behind all the country's troubles. In order to protect the state from counterrevolution, and from separatists and terrorists in Kosovo, the Army has been deployed to establish order in Kosovo. In view of this dogmatic wing, all those Albanian, Slovene and Croat demagogues whose real objectives are hidden behind the veil of slogans in favor of democracy, Europe, new socialism, human rights, of a different modern federal community of equal nations and nationalities should be "punished and imprisoned." In brief, Yugoslavia's deceived people should be defended from their bureaucratized, power-hungry leaders, Sonja Lokar said in conclusion. [passage omitted: Sonja Lokar's report endorsed by different delegates]

To the delegates' amusement, Stane Bostjancic compared the interrupted congress and the relationship between the Slovene LC and the LCY to divorce proceedings and everything they entail. [passage omitted: Franci Pivec, president of Maribor Communist organisation, expresses Maribor's support for the way Slovene delegates spoke at the 14th congress]

In addition, Pivec asked the conference to support an initiative by Maribor Communists for the creation of a Yugoslav forum for democracy. The main criterion for admission into the forum would be an organization's practical behavior and, above all, its consistency in the struggle against hegemonism of whatever kind in Yugoslavia.

In a debate on proposed conclusions to be adopted by the first conference of the Slovene LC, a number of delegates tabled proposals for changes and addenda in the form of amendments. One of the most significant proposals called on the SFRY Presidency to prepare a thorough analysis of causes behind the current situation in the country. On the basis of this analysis, the SFRY Assembly would call to account all those responsible for such a situation.

The delegates also adopted an amendment under which the Slovene LC would be prepared, without any preconditions, to meet, separately or in a joint session, representatives of the LC organizations from other republics and of the LC organization in the YPA with the aim of outlining new foundations for cooperation.

An amendment authorizing the Slovene LC to cooperate with all democratic organizations in Yugoslavia was greeted with applause. To this end, the SFRY Assembly is asked to organize a "roundtable" discussion in which all democratic forces would take party. If the SFRY Assembly does not accept this initative, the Slovene LC will proceed on its own to organize such a discussion.

Lev Kreft blocked any further proposed amendments to be submitted to point three of the conclusions, explaining that no further restrictions should be imposed on the Slovene LC's cooperation with other political entities.

He was supported by Janez Kocijancic, who presided over the conference and who remarked that the Slovene LC would have no one left to talk to if further conditions for cooperation were set. In a ballot, the initiative to remove conditions for cooperation was rejected.

Emil Milan Pinter's proposal to adopt the existing text of point three on cooperation with other organizations was, however, accepted.

Before the vote was taken on the entire set of proposed conclusions, a proposal submitted by an unnamed delegate that the conclusions should state clearly that the Slovene LC was withdrawing from the LCY did not go through.

The first conclusion in the set—which was unanimously adopted—retains the statement that "for the Slovene LC the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress has ended and the LCY, in the form it had up to the congress, has ceased to exist."

The Slovene LC will not take on any material obligations toward the LCY. From today, the Slovene LC will function as "an independent political organization with its own membership, program and statute."

The rest of the conclusions define conditions for cooperation with "all those democratic organizations in Yugoslavia" that advocate human rights and freedoms on the entire territory of the SFRY; a law on free political assembly; free, general and secret elections for the SFRY Assembly; an autonomy for civil society; an immediate peace in Kosovo and an end to all political trials, the method of political differentation and their effects.

It is stated in the conclusions that the Slovene LC will work toward reforms in Yugoslavia and for economic and political democracy, for equal status for all forms of ownership, for the autonomy of economic entities and for a law-governed state. On the international scene, the Slovene LC will encourage new contacts in both West and East and links with the Socialist International.

Ribicic's Concluding Speech

LD0402231290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1839 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 4 Feb (TANJUG)—The Slovene League of Communists [LC] is definitively losing its special position and the support—granted in advance—of the state. It has become a Party of Democratic Renewal that, as every normal political party, depends only on the support, will, loyalty and feelings of belonging of its organizations, members and sympathizers. This was stressed in his concluding remarks at the First Congress of the Slovene LC, in which 425 delegates took part and which lasted only three hours, by Ciril Ribicic, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium.

At the end of the conference, we can state that the Slovene LC—Party of Democratic Renewal—is in many respects different from what it was in the past, Ribicic said, adding that it is equal to its political competition, in view of the fact that it formally no longer has a specific center of decision-making outside the republic and it no longer is organized in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism.

According to Ribicic, the party will affirm in an even more consistent way the interests of the Slovene people and of all the citizens of Slovenia, and it will be able to have links more freely and more successfully with all democratic forces in Slovenia, Yugoslavia and Europe.

Ribicic believes that by supplementing its name, stress is laid on the party's democratic significance and reform orientation.

At the 14th congress we showed that we know how to combine patience with determination, readiness for dialogue with principled steadfastness, and competence to link up the reform forces with the removal of decadent compromises.

According to Ribicic, on these bases the party will offer coalition post-electoral ties with all those who advocate democratic socialism. He stressed the readiness to negotiate on an equal basis with all political alliances allowed by the Constitution, including the associated opposition, on questions that demand a supraparty national consensus, and especially on the position of Slovenia in Yugoslavia and Slovenes abroad.

Speaking about Kosovo, Ribicic said that at this point in time in this province the required peace and the cessation of violence on both sides is necessary. Fresh human victims are not necessary in order for—after the whole world public has understood it—the exponents of policy in the Serbia Socialist Republic, too, to realize that a repressive policy in Kosovo and vis-a-vis Kosovo is erroneous, Ribicic stressed. Therefore, it would be the biggest mistake if they were not to know how, and want to exploit the present calm for an open and equal dialogue with those who can authentically represent the real interests of the Albanian and also the Serbian and Montenegrin population in Kosovo.

The situation in which the main word was had by extremists on both sides—not only on one—and everyone who does not agree with current policy is proclaimed to be a terrorist, although he only calls for peace and dialogue, should be ended. We no longer want to bear the political, material and other responsiblity for a policy that we cannot influence in an equal way.

At the end, Ribicic analyzed the upcoming elections, saying that he will congratulate anyone who succeeds in convincing the electorate that he has a better program and more quality candidates. At the same time, he will consider it a weakness if there is an attempt to shift the focus of the preelection campaigns onto outmoded historical errors, revanchism and the personal responsibility of individual candidates.

LCY Presidency Reacts to Slovenian LC

LD0702203590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1844 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 7 (TANJUG)—The future work of organs of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the continuation of the party congress cannot be placed in question, the Presidency of the Central Committee (CC) of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) said today in reaction to the decision of the League of Communists of Slovenia to form its own political organization.

Today's statement of the LCY CC Presidency said that the "LCY organs are legitimate" and that "decisions by forums or organs cannot be disputed by individual memberships in the LCY, i.e. the commitment of citizens to be members of the LCY".

At the first conference of the Slovenian LC on Sunday, the Slovenian communists said that as far as they are concerned the 14th Special LCY Congress, adjourned on January 23, was over and that the federal party, in the form it had until the congress, including all its organs, has thus ceased to exist. They stressed that with the formation of an independent party, all new financial obligations of the Slovenian LC towards the existing party also cease.

The LCY CC Presidency today said that the LCY CC would meet by the end of February in order to draw up proposals for the continuation of the special LCY congress. The LCY congress was adjourned because the Slovenian delegates walked out, dissatisfied because all their proposals were outvoted.

The LCY CC Presidency said that it was necessary, by further democratization and radical reform, to preserve the Yugoslav character of the party. It said it was necessary that the LC be transformed into a modern, democratic and unified political party.

A high degree of accord was reached on the necessity of more radical moves in the program and statutory commitments of the LCY, so that the organization becomes capable for more effective and, in present conditions, suitable actions.

The LCY CC Presidency stressed that "everything should be done to prevent further rifts in the LCY and within some of its parts", overcome clashes, labelling, disqualifications and disagreements and build a new democratic unity in the LCY."

Suvar Assesses New Constitution

LD0602225790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1851 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—The freedom of political organising, including the formation of political parties and equality of all forms of ownership in the field of economy are the most important new points in the proposal for the Yugoslav constitution made by the Yugoslav State Presidency, Dr. Stipe Suvar, Presidency of Yugoslavia member said at today's press conference. Suvar headed the expert group which pepared the proposal for the new constitution.

On the occasion of the adoption of amendments to the current constitution in 1988 it was clear that many things have to be set right by adopting the new constitution. In proposing basic guidelines the Presidency resorted to including alternative solutions for the first time because approaches to sensitive questions had been different. The large number of objections related to solutions regarding relations in the federation, Suvar said.

The prevalent mood in the country is that the new constitution should be adopted as soon as possible. Whether datelines will be put forward, with all due respect for the constitutional procedure, is to be decided by the Assembly of Yugoslavia and its Constitutional Commission which is made up of representatives of all republics and provinces, Suvar added.

Answering questions of Yugoslav and foreign reporters, Suvar stressed that the Presidency was comitted to the development of the main principles on which the Yugoslav federation was based—socialism, self-management, democracy, human rights, equality of all nations and nationalities, the federative system, independence, all people's defence and orientation towards peace in the world and non-alignment.

Speaking about the initiative to wipe out the term "socialist" from the name of the country, Suvar said that Yugoslavia had grown with the ideal of being a socialist country, and that therefore the term should remain.

This does not mean that only the establishment of those political parties which have "socialist" in their names will be allowed. No party will have to advocate socialism, but they will all have to respect the Constitution. Therefore, only parties wanting to break the constitutional order by force and inspiring national, religious and racial hatred will be banned, Suvar said.

The Yugoslav State Presidency is firmly committed to Yugoslavia being a federation, Suvar said, adding that the proposal of the Republic of Slovenia Presidency is not against the federation and that everybody agrees that the federation should have fewer competences, but that the competences it does have should be effectively carried out.

Federal units should jointly and voluntarily transfer a part of their sovereignty to the federation and the agreement of all is necessary in adopting the constitution, Suvar said, forecasting that differences over this question should not arise.

The Presidency's proposal for the new constitution envisages the right of self-determination to the people organised in republics, including the right to secession.

The procedure for a possible secession should be worked out in detail because a very serious question is involved, Suvar said.

Suvar said that the provinces would continue the element of the federation, but would not represent its constituent parts because they are parts of the republic. The provinces will be represented in the federation and will have the right to make decisions, primarily on economic questions. But, for instance, they would not be able to prevent the adoption of the constitution, or the adoption of amendments to the constitution, Suvar stressed.

The federal constitutions should, in keeping with the State Presidency's proposal, represent the most "senior" legal act in the country. Other acts should not be in contradiction with it. In the event that something like that occurs, the "contradictory" act would be invalid, Suvar said.

Further on Constitution

LD0402153790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1144 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 4 (TANJUG)—By promulgating a new constitution, Yugoslavia shall shift to a conventional multi-party parliamentary system, secure its market economy, and guarantee real rights and freedoms as humankind achievements—states Dr Stipe Suvar, member of the State Presidency, in an interview to the TANJUG news agency. Suvar has headed a technical-political team that prepared the State Presidency's proposal for the country's new constitution.

The proposal for a new constitution, which is to be the fourth since the emergence of new Yugoslavia, was sent to the federal parliament for further procedure some ten days ago.

In his interview, Dr Suvar reiterates that Yugoslavia, while seeking an exit from its several-year crisis, a year ago changed its present 1974 Constitution. It will change it again soon, as the federal government and two of the republics, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia, have suggested fresh amendments, he says and adds that these amendments create conditions for the changes that may not wait for the adoption of a new constitution, because they are to accelerate the already started economic and political reforms.

As proposed by the State Presidency, Yugoslavia shall remain "socialist and federal," says Suvar and explains that "the fact that certain Eastern countries where their imported socialism has fallen apart strike out the adjective socialist from their names, is not the reason for ourselves to do the same." He reiterates that Yugoslavia need not renounce either an authentic revolution that had taken place in it, or "integrated self-management" that has developed in it.

Dr Stipe Suvar stresses that the proposal for a new constitution definitively abandons the system of "agreed-on economy" and the centralized government interventions in the economy. Enterprises are entitled to full freedom of organizing themselves and acting on the single Yugoslav market which is entirely opening itself on the world. What is being ensured is the acquisition of profit on the basis of labour and capital input, as regards domestic as well as foreign entrepreneurs.

One of the biggest changes, says Dr Suvar, is the quality of all the forms of ownership. The proposal for a new constitution (unlike the present Constitution) does not provide for a particular protection of the social ownership which today contributes 86 per cent of the "social product." The proposal provides only for controlling the economically unjustified shifting of the social into private ownership. Also proposed is the abolition of a 30-hectare land maximum, the only limit in private ownership.

As Suvar puts it, the role of the state—in the country which has more than four decades "suffered from a planned economy and state interventions—need be boiled down merely to the necessary regulations that secure competitiveness on the market and protect the activities of special social concern.

The State Presidency proposes that the new constitution should stipulate the following: a multi-party system and the direct elections by secret ballot at which all candidates with their programs will be able to compete for power on the footing of equality. Guided by this, the new constitution should abolish the present delegate system, and should limit the freedom of political organizing only by means of the same rights and freedoms of others. As Suvar explains, this means that the given freedoms may not be abused for the dissemination of national, religious and racial hatred, for a forcible change in the constitution order, and for the threatening of the country's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Not one party would be mentioned by name in the constitution (in the present Constitution the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] is mentioned as the guiding political ideological force in society). Suvar said that perhaps only the LCY's role in the national liberation war—out of which new Yugoslavia emerged—might be mentioned in the constitution.

Suvar reiterates that before the new constitution is enacted, the disputed constitutional provisions and the articles in the penal code which allow for political trials and for what is termed as "isolation," would be abolished. The new constitution's provisions that guarantee human rights and freedoms would be so precisely worded that they might not be abused, or interpreted arbitrarily.

The Presidency advocates the separation of the judicial, executive, and legislative authorities, just as it is for the unity of the country's legal and constitutional system, says Suvar.

Because of the many different views on the future structure of the federation, the Yugoslav State Presidency offers several options, says Suvar.

The options comprise a proposal by the republic of Slovenia which tends to a confederation, insists on the nation's right to secession and suggests that the two autonomous provinces which are parts of the republic of Serbia (in view of the fact that they are not states) should no longer be directly represented on the federation.

Under the State Presidency's proposal, the new constitution should define the republics as independent and sovereign states that negotiate towards reaching agreement on what part of their sovereignty they would delegate on the federation. The provinces would be immediately represented on the federation to the measure prescribed by the new constitution.

The State Presidency also seeks that the procedure of the possible secession of the federal units of Yugoslavia should be worked out and specified in the new constitution, Suvar says.

The State Presidency proposes that the Federal Assembly shall remain bicameral. One chamber (of citizens) would be composed upon the principle of proportionality, and the other (of the republics and provinces) on the principle of party (decisions in the other chamber would continue to be taken by consensus as they are now).

It is proposed that the new constitution should precisely determine the State Presidency's competences in cases of proclaiming emergency measures in the country.

The proposal also comprises three possible methods of electing the collective Presidency of state. One novelty is that now for the first time it is foreseen that the members of the collective head of state might be elected by citizens directly. According to this proposal, every republic and province would have one of its member on the State Presidency—says Suvar in his interview to the TANJUG news agency.

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